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Resolved That the United States Should Reduce Significantly Its Military Commitments to NATO Member States.

Intercollegiate Debate Topic
1987-1988

Pursuant to Public Law 88-246

Compiled by the Congressional Research Service
Library of Congress

H920-8

PUBLIC LAW 88-246, 88TH CONGRESS, S. 2311, DECEMBER 30, 1963

AN ACT To provide for the preparation and printing of compilation of materials relating to annual national high school and college debate topics.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Librarian of Congress is authorized and directed to prepare compilations of pertinent excerpts, bibliographical references, and other appropriate materials relating to (1) the subject selected annually by the National University Extension Association and the national high school debate topics and (2) the subject selected annually by the American Speech Association as the national college debate topic. In preparing such compilations the Librarian shall include materials which in his judgment are representative of, and give equal emphasis to, the opposing points of view on the respective topics.

Sec. 2. The compilations on the high school debate topics shall be printed as Senate documents and the compilations on the college debate topics shall be printed as House documents, the cost of which shall be charged to the congressional allotment for printing and binding. Additional copies of such documents may be printed in such quantities and distributed in such manner as the Joint Committee on Printing directs.

Approved December 30, 1963.

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Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Washington, D.C. 20540

FOREWORD

The 1987-1988 intercollegiate debate topic is "Resolved: that the United States Should Significantly Reduce its Military Commitments to NATO Member States."

In compliance with Public Law 88-246, the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress prepared this bibliography and study guide to assist college and university debaters in researching the topic. In selecting items for this manual, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) has attempted to sample and to cite the wide spectrum of opinions reflected in current literature on this question. No preference for any policy is indicated by the selection or positioning of articles cited, nor is CRS approval or disapproval of any policy or article to be inferred from its inclusion or omission.

The annotated bibliography covers such topics as: the history and development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, burden sharing, conventional and strategic weapons, foreign aid commitments, American relations with Eastern and Western Europe, and other issues related to U.S. foreign and military policy.

A research guide is included at the end of this volume; it is intended to help debaters identify further references and organizational resources. Also included is a list of relevant publications that are available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office. Some of the U.S. Government documents listed in the manual may be found in U.S. Government depository libraries, which can be identified by local public libraries. The Library of Congress cannot distribute copies of these or other materials to debaters.

The bibliography and research guide were prepared by Sherry B. Shapiro, Senior Biblographer in Foreign Affairs and National Defense, Library Services Division. John M. White and Ann Eschete provided the secretarial production of the bibliography and research guide.

Good luck to each debater in researching, preparing, and presenting arguments on this year's topic.

Joseph E. Ross

Joseph E. Ross, Director
Congressional Research Service

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is designed to assist college and university debators on the 1987-1988 Intercollegiate Debate Topic on U.S. relations with members of the NATO Alliance. It examines such issues as the history and development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, burden-sharing, foreign and military assistance, the out-of-area issue for NATO members, and also includes general information on U.S. foreign and defense policy.

The majority of the citations in this annotated bibliography were obtained from the computerized Congressional Research Service Database, created and maintained by the Library Services Division. Other materials were selected from the collections of the Library of Congress and the Congressional Research Service.

This bibliography is arranged by author and includes an index arranged by title, for ease in locating items on diverse topics. The title index was generated by WordPerfect software and does truncate titles.

The author wishes to thank her colleagues in the Congressional Research Service for their assistance in the preparation of this bibilography. Thanks are also extended to Kristan Vajs, Head, Subject Specialization Section, Library Services Division, and to Stanley R. Sloan, Specialist in U.S. Alliance Relations, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division for their review of this product. Thanks are also extended to John M. White, Library Services Division for the preparation of the index.

Materials in this bibliography may be located at a nearby public, research, or depository library. The Congressional Research Service cannot provide debaters with copies of the items listed.

RESOLVED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD REDUCE SUBSTANTIALLY ITS MILITARY COMMITMENTS TO NATO MEMBER STATES: BIBLIOGRAPHY PREPARED FOR THE 1987-88 INTERCOLLEGIATE DEBATE TOPIC

Abshire, David M.

Critical dimensions of transatlantic cooperation: a resources strategy. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 21, winter 1983-84: 308-316.

"An effective resources strategy, productive transatlantic arms cooperation and more of a common market in the defense industrial field can become the foundation for reinvigorating the Alliance."

NATO at the moral crossroads. Washington quarterly, v. 7, summer 1984: 3-12.

"Public consensus supporting the alliance must be broadened. Part of this broadening involves addressing the moral issues and choices related to NATO policies that are now being publicly debated."

NATO's conventional defence: the need for a resources strategy. NATO review, v. 32, Oct. 1984: 8-13.

"Ambassador Abshire argues that if NATO's strategy of flexible response is to be truly flexible the conventional deterrent must be improved. For this to be possible, not only should the European member states assume more responsibility for the task, but NATO should develop an effective resources strategy . . . ."

Acheson, Dean.

The pattern of responsibility. Edited by McGeorge Bundy from the record of Secretary of State Dean Acheson. New York, A.M. Kelley, 1972, c1951. 309 p. (Houghton Mifflin reprint editions)

Present at the Creation; my years in the State Department. New York, Norton, 1969. 798 p.

Includes discussions on early North Atlantic Council meetings.

The Achilles heel. NATO's fifteen nations, Jan. 1982: 12-13, 16-17, 20-22, 25-27, 30-32, 34, 36-38, 41-43.

Partial contents.--Conventional air defence in Europe, by C. Braune.--Belgium, by M. DeSmet.--Canada, by K. Lewis.--Denmark, by N. Holst-Sorensen.--Germany, by F. Obleser.--Greece, by N. Kouris.--Italy, by L. Bartolucci.--The Netherlands, by C. Baas.--Norway, by M. Sorensen.--Portugal, by J. Ferreira.--Turkey, by T. Sahinkaya.--United Kingdom, by M. Beetham.--United States, by C. Gabriel.

"NATO's integrated air defence system was a tremendous achievement when it was initiated in the 1950s with much enthusiasm and devotion. Since then it has been allowed to become obsolescent."

Adamson, David.

A 'no' to no-first-use. Foreign Service journal, v. 59, Sept. 1982: 20-23.

"The new NATO doctrine advocated by Bundy, Keenan, McNamara, and Smith . . . that NATO should unconditionally renounce the first use of nuclear weapons--is unconvincing," holds the author.

Adelman, Kenneth L.

Why an INF agreement makes sense; it is not the millenium. Vital speeches of the day, v. 43, June 15, 1987: 514-518.

A speech by the Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, delivered to the Mid-Atlantic Club, Harriman, New York, May 1, 1987.

Adapting NATO's deterrent posture. Edited by Richard G. Lugar and Robert E. Hunter. Washington, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, c1985. 88 p.

Alberts, D. J.
Deterrence in the 1980s: part II: the role of conventional air power. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1984. 57 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 193)
Contents.--What is a conventional deterrence for NATO?--NATO air power and conventional deterrence/defence.--Implications and inferences.--Summary, conclusions, and tentative suggestions.

Alberts, Donald J.
An alternative view of air interdiction. Air University review, v. 32, July-Aug. 1981: 31-44.
Provides an air force perspective on air interdiction. Describes what air interdiction is, considers when and why it can be useful, and probes the implications of air interdiction for force employment in the European scenario.

Albrecht, Ulrich.
European security and the German question. World policy journal, v. 1, spring 1984: 575-602.
Examines the position of Germany in the political situation between East and West and holds that a "conceptual breakthrough" of political detente and Ostpolitik is needed, extending into the military domain.

Alexander, Archibald S.
Arms transfers by the United States: merchant of death or arsenal of democracy? Vanderbilt journal of international law, v. 10, spring 1977: 249-267.
"This article deals with transfers of all kinds of non-nuclear arms from or by the United States, and its examines all types of transfers including grants, transfers on credit, government to government sales, and commercial transactions in which the seller is part of the private sector of the United States. There is an analysis of statutory law and applicable international agreements, followed by a description of the machinery that the United States Government uses to make decisions regarding transfers."

Alexander, Joseph H.
Combined amphibious operations in Northern Europe. United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 106, Nov. 1980: 26-32.
"The art of amphibious warfare has been getting a fresh application on NATO's northern flank in recent years. Major NATO maritime exercises with significant amphibious assault phases are now being conducted on a biennial basis throughout Norway, Denmark, and northern Germany."

Alexiev, Alex R.
The Soviet campaign against INF: strategy, tactics, and means. Orbis, v. 29, summer 1985: 319-350.
"The Soviet anti-INF campaign remains a fascinating and instructive example of Moscow's foreign political modus operandi and perhaps the best case study of a concerted Soviet effort to manipulate domestic trends in Western countries . . . . A detailed analysis of the tactics and instruments used by the Soviets in the anti-INF campaign also provides considerable insights and a frame of comparison for Western analysts and policy makers seeking to understand and neutralize the present Soviet campaign against the Strategic Defense Initiative."

Alford, Jonathan.
NATO's conventional forces and the Soviet mobilization potential. NATO review, v. 28, June 1980: 18-22.
Analyzes the role of conventional forces in NATO and Soviet strategy. Focuses on the possible Soviet use of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. Contends "the core of NATO's defense should reside in a conventional capability to deny the Warsaw Pact either military or political advantage."

Aliano, Richard A.
American defense policy from Eisenhower to Kennedy: the politics of changing military requirements, 1957-1961. Athens, Ohio University Press, c1975. 309 p.

Alliance burdensharing: a review of the data. [Washington] U.S. Congressional Budget Office, 1987. 20 p.

Alliance security: NATO and the no-first-use question. Edited by John D. Steinbruner and Leon V. Sigal. Washington, Brookings Institution, c1983. 222 p.
At head of title: Studies in defense policy.
Partial contents.--A historical perspective, by D. Schwartz.--Nuclear deterrence in Central Europe, by W. Kaufmann.--Nonnuclear deterrence, by W. Kaufmann.--Perspectives on strategy, by J. Alford.--No first use and NATO's nuclear posture, by L. Sigal.--Political prospects for no first use, by L. Sigal.--The no-first-use question in West Germany, by G. Krell, T. Risse-Kappen, and H. Schmidt.--Moving toward no first use in practice, by J. Holst.--Alliance security, by J. Steinbruner.

Alliances in U.S. foreign policy: NATO and the quest for collective defense. Edited by Alan Ned Sabrosky. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1987.
This book will be forthcoming later in 1987.

Allies in a turbulent world: challenges to U.S. and Western European cooperation. Edited by Francis A.M. Alting von Geusau. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, c1982. 174 p.

Allin, George R.
Spain's NATO dilemma. Military review, v. 65, Jan 1985: 61-73.
"Spain's ultimate decision concerning its role in NATO can have a profound effect upon the alliance. This article examines the nature of the dilemmas facing the Spanish government."

Alterman, Eric R.
Central Europe: misperceived threats and unforeseen dangers. World policy journal, v. 2, fall 1985: 681-709.
The author explores the following questions: "is NATO strategy based on a fundamental misreading of Soviet intentions? If this is indeed the case . . . is it not possible that in responding as it has, NATO is actually helping to create a threat that might not have existed in the first place?"

Thinking twice: the Weinberger Doctrine and the lessons of Vietnam. Fletcher forum, v. 10, winter 1986: 93-109.
"Debate is still raging over the Vietnam experience: why did we get involved, why did we lose, and what does our military failure mean for the future of U.S. foreign policy? In this article, Eric R. Alterman argues that, though consensus on these questions remains elusive . . . the outlines of an emerging consensus are evident within the U.S. armed forces. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's now famous speech on the six essential conditions necessary before war should be fought reflects this military consensus. He analyzes each of Weinberger's points in the context of military conclusions from the Vietnam era."

Alternative Defence Commission (Gt. Brit.)
Without the bomb: non-nuclear defence policies for Britain. London, Paladin, 1985. 92 p.
Contents.--Thinking about war and defence.--What would a non-nuclear Britain have to fear from the superpowers?--Britain, NATO and Europe.--Central Europe: Western military options.--National defence: British military options.--Strategies against occupation.

America and the world 1986. Foreign affairs, v. 65, no. 3, 1987: whole issue (423-696 p.)
Contents.--The Reagan crisis: dreaming impossible dreams, by Philip Geyelin.--The United States and the world economy, by Leonard Silk.--Gorbachev: a new foreign policy? by Dimitri K. Simes.--China's confident nationalism, by Michel Oksenberg.--Aquino's Philippines: the center holds, by Sandra Burton.--South Africa embattled, by John de St. Jorre.--Revolution in Central America? by Clifford Krauss.--Israel: the Peres Era and its legacy, by Samuel W. Lewis.--International terrorism, by Robert Oakley.--Realism and vision in American foreign policy, by James H. Billington.--Chronology 1986.

America on war and diplomacy. American spectator, v. 13, Nov. 1980: 7-27.
Contents.--Introduction, by S. Rosen.--Hiding from the nuclear age, by S. Rosen.--Renewing a beautiful relationship, by S. Sestanovich.--Wielding alignments, by S. David.--Systems paralysis, by E. Cohen.

American defense policy. Edited by John F. Riechart, Steven R. Sturm (Department of Political Science, United States Air Force Academy). 5th ed. Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982. 860 p.

America's security in the 1980s. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies [1982] 52, 59 p. (Adelphi paper no. 173, 174)

The papers presented here were given at the 23rd annual conference of the IISS at Williamsburg, Va. in Sept. 1981.

Contents.--Part I: Introduction, by C. Bertram.--The American people and military power in an historic perspective, by B. Tuchman.--Congress and the making of US security policies, by W. Bader.--Domestic factors in US defence policy, by P. Odeen.--US strategic nuclear forces, by J. Lodal.--US conventional forces, by T. Wheelock.--Part II: The international context for US security, by H. Kissinger.--US strategic concerns and capabilities, by L. Martin.--America's alliances: Europe, by D. Watt.--America's alliances: Asia, by T. Millar.--America's policy towards the Soviet Union in the 1980s: objectives and uncertainties, by P. Hassner.--The Soviet Union in the American perspective: perceptions and realities, by W. Hyland.

Amme, Carl H., Jr.

NATO without France; a strategic appraisal. Standord, Calif., Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1967. (Hoover Institution publications)

Anatomy of the arms trade. Newsweek, v. 88, Sept. 6, 1976: 39-42, 45.

"The arms trade is nonetheless one of the world's largest and fastest-growing businesses--and it is now under sharp and sometimes moralistic attack."

Archer, Clive.

Greenland and the Atlantic alliance. Aberdeen, Scotland, Centre for Defence Studies, 1985. 66, 3 p. (Centrepiece no. 7)

"Examines the security importance of Greenland for the Western Alliance and the effect of the recent events on its position within NATO. The main point for consideration is whether strategic changes, regional developments and local political and economic aspects will place significant strains on Greenland's position within the Atlantic Alliance."

Arkes, Hadley.

Bureaucracy, the Marshall Plan, and the national interest. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press [1973, c1972] 395 p.

Arkin, William M.

Pershing II and U.S. nuclear strategy. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 39, June-July 1983: 12-13.

"Assuring European support for deployment of Pershing II missiles depends upon their role as theater weapons. Announced plans to allow reloading of launchers suggest that Pershing II would have a strategic mission as well."

Armacost, Michael H.

NATO and the challenges ahead. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 22, fall 1984: 204-211.

Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs discusses America's role in NATO. Examine three issues: first, the security of Europe following the successful commencement of intermediate-range nuclear missile deployments; second, the outlook for East-West and U.S.-Soviet relations following Foreign Minister Gromyko's meetings with President Reagan and Secretary of State Schultz; and third, the importance to NATO security of maintenance of a favorable balance of forces in other geographic regions."

U.S. national interest and the budget crisis. Washington, U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1987. 3 p. (Current policy no. 972)

In this speech before "the Lexington Rotary Club, Lexington, Kentucky, and the Louisville Committee on Foreign Relations, Louisville, Kentucky, May 7, 1987" the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs illustrates that "shortfalls in the budget for international affairs, and in particular for foreign assistance, threaten to undermine some very real national security interests."

Arms control and nuclear strategy. Harvard international review, v. 9, May-June 1987: 4-12, 14-16, 18-23, 40-44.

Contents.--How does arms control affect risks of nuclear war? by Joseph S. Nye, Jr.--The US approach to arms control, by Caspar W. Weinberger.--The imperatives of arms control: a Soviet approach, by Sergey Rogov.--US approaches to arms control: contentious, erratic, and inadequate, by Johnathan Dean.--Relying on American strength, not Soviet "reform," by Edward L. Rowny.--Technical innovation, crisis stability, and arms control, by Jonathan B. Tucker.--SDI and arms control, by Malcolm Wallop.

Arms control and the Strategic Defense Initiative: three perspectives. Muscatine, Iowa, Stanley Foundation, 1985. 32 p. (Occasional paper 36)

Contents.--Soviet interpretation and response, by J. Hough.--A new dilemma for NATO, by S. Sloan.--Breaking the deadlock, by P. Warnke and D. Linebaugh.

Arms control in Europe: problems and prospects. Edited by Karl E. Birnbaum. Laxenburg, Austrian Institute for International Affairs, 1980. 122 p. (Laxenburg papers, LPI, 1980)

Contents.--The balance of forces in Europe, by J. Alford.--NATO and WTO long range theatre nuclear forces, by M. Leitenberg.--Bridging the gaps: problems and possibiities for agreement in the Vienna negotiations on force reductions in Central Europe, by P. Hopmann.--Confidence building as an approach to cooperative arms regulations in Europe, by K. Birnbaum and F. Ceska.--The European neutrals and arms control, by H. Neuhold.

Arms sales: a useful foreign policy tool? Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, c1982. 24 p. (AEI forum 56)

Les Aspin, Joseph R. Biden, Jr., William L. Dickinson, and Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft examine arms transfers of conventional weapons as a tool of U.S. foreign policy. John Charles Daly moderates the discussion.

Arms trade and transfer of military technology. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 8, no. 2, 1977: whole issue.

Partial contents.--The transfer of military technology to third world countries, by S. Landgren-Backstrom.--The significance of military technology, by M. Kaldor.--Technology and militarization of third world countries in theoretical perspective, by U. Albrecht.--Consequences of transfer of military-oriented technology on the development process, by P. Lock and H. Wulf.--Military dependency versus development in the Third World, by M. Wolpin.

Armstrong, Alan P.

Nuclear weapons and NATO. Military review, v. 60, May 1980: 11-17.

"A lot of money would be made available for the development of non-threatening, asymmetrical weapons systems if theater nuclear weapons were removed from Europe or modified for strategic deterrent missions," argues the author.

Arnaud, Claude.

What is EUREKA? NATO review, v. 34, June 1986: 12-15.

"EUREKA is aimed at strengthening Europe, but not at defending it militarily. Its fields of application correspond in part to those of the SDI, but are approached from a different perspective: for example in the case of lasers, these may be lasers used in manufacturing; in the case of robotics, we may be dealing with robots used in civil defence."

Aron, Raymond.

Ideology in search of a policy. Foreign affairs, America and the world, v. 60, no. 3, 1982: 503-524.

Considers the Reagan administration's approach to foreign policy and reviews some of the major issues throughout the world in 1981, including the defense of the NATO alliance, political unrest in Poland, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iranian-Iraqi war, crises in Chad, Namibia, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, and events in Asia.

Art, Robert J.

Fixing Atlantic bridges. Foreign policy, no. 46, spring 1982: 67-85.

Examines disputes between the U.S. and its Western European allies over the nature of the Soviet threat and the level of defense spending required to meet it. Also examines disagreements regarding the modernization of NATO's intermediate range nuclear forces and the validity of the doctrine of flexible response.

Artner, Stephen J.
Detente policy before and after Afghanistan. Aussenpolitik, v. 31, 1980: 134-146.
"Has the detente policy, which, for the past decade, the West has conducted jointly though with different interests in mind, foundered or has it only been endangered? Can there be a clear answer to the question as to the divisibility or indivisibility of detente?" These are the questions dealt with in the article.

Ashdown, Paddy.
The conventional balance of power in Europe: a different view. Contemporary review, v. 245, Nov. 1984: 231-237.
Critically examines "the widespread opinion that the Soviet Union has overwhelming conventional military strength, and therefore that we have no alternative to a 'First-Use' of nuclear weapons strategy in Europe. It is clear that a majority of people in Britain believe, not only that the Soviet Union has stronger nuclear forces than the West (an incorrect view), but also that they have stronger conventional forces."

Asmus, Ronald D.
Soviet countermeasures to NATO's "dual-track" decision? [Munich] Radio Free Europe, 1983. 14 p. (Research: RAD background report/248 (East-West))
"For some time now the Soviet Union and some of its Warsaw Pact allies have been issuing warnings or threats of various 'countermeasures' should NATO proceed with its scheduled deployment of 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe . . . . The key targets of such ominous warnings have been the FRG and the United States . . . . This paper broadly surveys a variety of Soviet and Warsaw Pact statements on this issue."

ATBM [Antitactical Ballistic Missiles]. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 43, May 1987: 34-41.
Contents.--A tactical defenses initiative for Western Europe?, by Ivo H. Daalder.--ATBM--a solution in search of a problem, by Benoit Morel.
"Antitactical ballistic missile defenses have come to the fore in NATO debates. In these two articles, Ivo Daalder distinguishes between U.S. and European plans for ATBMs, while Benoit Morel questions the technical basis for either version."

Atkeson, Edward B.
The "fault line" in the Warsaw Pact: implications for NATO strategy. Orbis, v. 30, spring 1986: 111-131.
"This article proposes to identify the centrifugal forces likely to have an impact on the policies of the non-Soviet members of the Warsaw Pact (NSWP) in time of crisis or war in Europe and to assess their implications for NATO's operational strategy and security."

The Atlantic connection: report on a workshop on relations between the United States and its Atlantic Allies, held at Dartmouth College, July 27-29, 1984, with background papers presented by David Baldwin, Gene M. Lyons, and Jonathan L. Shrier. Hanover, N.H., John Sloan Dickey Endowment for International Understanding, Dartmouth College [1984?] 32 p.

Atlantic Council of the United States.
The successor generation. Washington, 1981. 45 p.
Contents.--The nature of the problem.--The extent of the problem.--The purpose of the program.--Values.--The threat.--The Atlantic Council's approach.

U.S. international leadership for the 21st century: building a national foreign affairs constituency; joint working group of the Atlantic Council of the United States and the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs. Washington, The Council, 1987. 55 p. (Policy paper)

Atlantic Council's Working Group on the Credibility of the NATO Deterrent.
The credibility of the NATO deterrent: bringing the NATO deterrent up to date. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, summer 1981: 152-167.
Examines the significance of threats outside the NATO area for NATO security. Identifies the growing inadequacies of the NATO defense posture and suggests ways to compensate for new demands outside the NATO area on allied strength. Considers major divisions within the Alliance which increasingly endanger its cohesiveness.

Back from the brink. Atlantic monthly, v. 258, Aug. 1986: 35-41.
"Here is an arms-control plan, based on a new nuclear strategy, that requires no negotiations, no treaties, and no verification--a plan that the United States and its allies, taking arms control into their own hands, can implement unilaterally, thereby immediately reducing the risk of a nuclear confrontation."

Bajusz, William D.
Advanced technology and public policy: multinational weapons acquisition. Policy sciences, no. 11, 1980: 263-284.
"The analysis examines interrelationships among different national public policy processes and compares cross-nationally the role of governmental and non-governmental organizations in policy flormulation."

Balancing the national interest: U.S. national security export controls and global economic competition. Washington, National Academy Press, 1987. 321 p.
Examines national security export controls (as specified by the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended) imposed on dual use technology. Focuses on export control issues relating to the Soviet Union and its East European allies. Gives special attention to the role of friendly and neutral free world countries that are not members of CoCom (Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls), that may be, or become, sources of technology or conduits of East-West technology transfer.

Ball, George W.
The cosmic bluff. New York review of books, v. 30, July 21, 1983: 37-41.
Examines NATO's nuclear strategy and its reliance on America's nuclear threat to deter the Soviet Union from attacking Western Europe with conventional forces.

Ball, Mary Margaret.
NATO and the European union movement. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press [1974, c1959] 486 p.

Ball, Robert.
Getting our friends to flex their muscles. Fortune, v. 103, Feb. 9, 1981: 60-65.
Contends that the real rate of growth of defense spending over the past decade in every NATO country except Portugal exceeded that of the U.S., which showed a decline. Urges the Reagan Administration to seek a new consensus on who does what in the NATO alliance to convince European taxpayers that "what they are being asked to provide makes military sense and is not simply for symmetry of sacrifice."

Bambini, Adrian P., Jr.
Chemical warfare and the NATO Alliance. Military review, v. 61, Apr. 1981: 27-33.
"This article examines NATO's ability to engage in chemical warfare with the Warsaw Pact. The author identifies areas in which he feels NATO is deficient and proposes actions aimed at eliminating these problems."

Barbara, James C. Brown, Robert F.
Deep thrust on the extended battlefield. Military review, v. 62, Oct. 1982: 21-32.
"The extended battlefield is a widely discussed topic today. This article reviews Soviet tactics and organizations and identifies certain vulnerabilities for possible exploitation by NATO in a future conflict. The authors propose means for taking advantage of such opportunities."

Barlow, Jeffrey G.
NATO: restoring American leadership. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1981. 18 p. (Backgrounder no. 132)
Analyzes Jimmy Carter's relationship with the NATO allies and outlines a plan of action which the Reagan administration should pursue with the Alliance.

NATO's northern flank: the growing Soviet threat. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1979. 18 p. (Backgrounder no. 82)
Discusses the increased Soviet presence in the Nordic region.

Barnet, Richard J.
The Alliance: America, Europe, Japan, makers of the postwar world. New York, Simon and Schuster, c1983. 511 p.

"This book is the story of a small circle of politicians, diplomats, industrialists, bankers, and generals on three continents who created and shaped the postwar world by building an alliance of North America, Europe, and Japan. This association of industrialized capitalist nations which has already endured longer than the Holy Alliance of the last century, has been the vehicle by which the defeated nations of World War II, Germany and Japan, were transformed from America's enemies into protectorates and ultimately into formidable commercial rivals. The web of political, economic, and cultural relationships which the United States took the lead in creating at the end of World War II, surely one of the most ingenious political inventions of our century, has over two generations not only produced dramatic changes in the relationships of three continents, but has also exerted strong influence in the domestic life of every member country."

Barnet, Richard J.
Annals of diplomacy: Alliance II. New Yorker, v. 49, Oct. 1983: 94, 98, 103-104, 107-116, 120-122, 124-126, 128, 133, 136, 141-142, 144, 146, 148-162, 165-167.

"The history of diplomacy is a story of shifting alliances . . . . The anarchic international system is always in motion. Times change, and so do allies. The postwar alliance of victors and vanquished was itself proof of that. By the early nineteen-eighties, both the United States and the Soviet Union were seeking to reassert greater control over their respective allies and clients, and in the process tensions within both blocs increased . . . . Increasing numbers in Western Europe and in the Soviet client states of the East found themselves more absorbed with the problems posed by their protector than by their adversary."

Bauer, Peter. Yamey, Basil.
Foreign aid: what is at stake? Public interest, no. 68, summer 1982: 53-69.

Baum, Keith W.
Treating the allies properly: the Eisenhower Administration, NATO, and the multilateral force. Presidential studies quarterly, v. 13, winter 1983: 85-97.

"During the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower, the growth of Soviet strategic power . . . caused the European members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to reassess the merits of relying on American nuclear arms . . . . This multiplicity of national interests and the various perceptions of nuclear arms within the alliance that accompanied those interests threatened to throw NATO into acute disarray."

Baylis, John.
Britain, the Brussels Pact and the continental commitment. International affairs (London), v. 60, autumn 1984: 615-629.

"The purpose of this article is to chart the process by which, after the experiences of the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the Second World War, Britain decided to reorient its traditional, essentially maritime, defence policy and to commit itself, in political and strategic terms, more closely to its West European allies . . . . Consideration is also given to the contribution made by Britain . . . to the formation of the West European security system."

Beaufre, Andre.
NATO and Europe. Translated from the French by Joseph Green. New York, Knopf, 1966. 70 p.

Beaver, Paul.
Gibraltar: pimple or pinnacle of power. Navy international, v. 86, July 1981: 400-403.

"Since 1704 Gibraltar has played a major part in the defense of the United Kingdom and her interests abroad. In recent years its strategic significance has been overlooked, but with the probable inclusion of Spain within NATO during the next twelve months, the Supreme Allied Command is again looking at Gibraltar's commanding position."

Bednar, James.
Foreign aid; generosity returned. Agenda, v. 3, Dec. 1980: 2-9.

Documents the positive domestic impacts of foreign aid programs including imports, exports, new energy sources, improved food, health, and education.

Beer, Francis A.
Integration and disintegration in NATO; processes of alliance cohesion and prospects for Atlantic Community. [Columbus] Ohio State University Press [1969] 330 p.

The political economy of alliances: benefits, costs, and institutions in NATO. Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications [1972] 37 p. (Sage professional papers in international studies series, ser. no. 02-008)

Beesley, Fred W., Jr.
The Law of the Flag, the Law of Extradition, the NATO Status of Forces Agreement, and their application to members of the United States Army National Guard. Vanderbilt journal of transnational law, v. 15, winter 1982: 179-225.

Beilenson, Laurence W. Cohen, Samuel T.
A new nuclear strategy. New York times magazine, Jan. 24, 1982: 34, 36, 38, 42, 44.
"A military scholar and a weapons analyst propose that we stop trying to match the Russians in conventional weapons and base our security on overwhelming power in nuclear arms."

Bender, Peter.
The superpower squeeze. Foreign policy, no. 65, winter 1986-87: 98-113.
Examines the dilemma of Europe in the context of East-West relations and German reunification. "The situation for West Europeans is bewildering. The United States is on the one hand the protector and on the other, a source of danger as soon as its power struggle with the USSR intensifies. The same applies to the East Europeans with respect to the Soviet Union."

Bentinck, Marc.
NATO's out-of-area problem. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1986. 84 p. (Adelphi paper no. 211)
Contents.--The historical experience.--Global dimensions of western security: interests and vulnerabilities.--Managing out-of-area challenges inside and outside NATO.

Beres, Louis Rene.
The end of American foreign policy. Third world quarterly, v. 8, Oct. 1986: 1253-1270.
"What must be done to bring about the desired changes in US foreign policy? How can the US re-route its narrowly self-interested mode of foreign policy activity to a more promising orientation? How can its leaders build upon the understanding that it is in America's own best interests to develop strategies of international interaction from a systematic vantage point?"

Berger, Peter J.
The course of French defense policy. Parameters, v. 12, Sept. 1982: 19-26.
Examines the defense policies of the Socialist government of France, in light of the history of French military policy since 1958 and, especially, the positions held by the Socialist Party while in opposition.

Bertram, Christoph.
Europe's security dilemmas. Foreign affairs, v. 65, summer 1987: 942-957.
"As the alliance ponders the best response to Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev's various arms control initiatives, there is also a new sense of uncertainty over the central, nuclear aspect of NATO strategy; this unease is accompanied by the prospect of unprecedented manpower constraints on armed forces of NATO countries on both sides of the Atlantic. Even for an alliance that has learned to live with its internal frictions and weathered many crises of cohesion, dealing with this range of problems is a tall order. No one who is concerned about the West's future can afford to take it lightly."

The implications of theater nuclear weapons in Europe. Foreign affairs, v. 60, winter 1981-1982: 305-326.

Betts, Richard K.
Compound deterrence vs. no-first use: what's wrong is what's right. Orbis, v. 28, winter 1985: 697-718.
"Reliance on nuclear threats is dangerous, but so are the alternatives. . . . This is true even if conventional capabilities are improved. The first part of this article discusses what is obviously and logically wrong with NATO's doctrine, and the second discussed why it is still strategically and politically right."

Conventional deterrence: predictive uncertainty and policy confidence. World politics, v. 37, Jan. 1985: 153-179.
The author argues that "recent studies overestimate the confidence NATO could have in conventional deterrence . . . . Consistent theories for optimizing conventional deterrence are confounded by contradictory requirements posed by different threats. The only comprehensive doctrine to hedge against all variants is one that retains a nuclear component."

Conventional strategy: new critics, old choices. International security, v. 7, spring 1983: 140-162.
"One thing reformists agree on is the inadequacy of 'business as usual' approaches to defense. As the first section of this essay will suggest, there is much merit in such criticism, especially when it highlights the strategic quality of standard analyses oriented to calculating the 'balance' of military power. To an unfortunate degree, however, reformist critiques have made an impression by resorting to hyperbole, overlooking dilemmas, and fixating on stark conceptual alternatives that rarely stand up to the practical requirements of fielding a large, variegated force committed to meet multiple contingencies."

Security and solidarity: NATO's balancing act after the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear forces. Brookings review, v. 3, summer 1985: 26-34.
"The new missiles provoked the Soviet Union as much as they deterred it, and they shook European confidence in security . . . . The INF controversies reflected NATO's underlying quandaries. Short-term success is not all that valuable if the price is long-term failure to negotiate constraints on the Soviet threat and to deal with European fears that could crack the alliance just when it might be needed most."

Surprise attack: lessons for defense planning. Washington, Brookings Institution, c1982. 318 p.
Contents.--Deterrence, shock, and defense.--Sudden attacks in World War II.--Sudden attacks in the postwar era.--Why surprise succeeds, I: operational causes.--Why surprise succeeds, II: the fog of peace.--The NATO central front, I: politics.--The NATO central front, II: operations.--Nuclear surprise.--Beyond the central front.--Hedging against surprise.

Billington, James H.
Realism and vision in American foreign policy. Foreign affairs, v. 65, no. 3, 1987: 630-658.
Examines American "short-term necessities, the bedrock assumption of postwar American foreign policy that the U.S.S.R. poses a continuing danger that justifies American global involvements."

Bilge, A. Suat.
Turkey's long quest for security ends with first enlargement of the alliance. NATO review, v. 31, no. 3-4, 1983: 36-41.
"An account of the events which prompted Turkey to seek membership and of the difficulties which had to be overcome before this first enlargement of the Alliance could be achieved in February 1952."

Bingham, Price T.
NATO needs a new air interdiction approach. Armed Forces journal international, v. 124, Oct. 1986: 98, 100, 102, 104-105, 108, 110, 112.
Examines NATO's use of air power to counter a potential Warsaw Pact offensive.

Birnbaum, Norman.
Europeanization of Europe. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 41, Jan. 1985: 20-21.
Discusses recent efforts to reevaluate the NATO alliance.

Bjarnason, Bjorn.
Defence of Iceland. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 30, Dec. 1985: 38-39.
"A gradual but important change in Iceland's relations to NATO is under way. Increasing awareness of the continuing Soviet threat to this isolated and sparsely populated Alliance member country is leading to increasing strengthening of its defensive posture. Bjorn Bjarnason shows what is being done internally and externally to heighten the integration of Iceland into NATO's military structure."

Blackaby, Frank. Ohlson, Thomas.
Military expenditures and the arms trade: problems of data. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 13, no. 4, 1982: 291-308.
Blackaby, director of the Stockholm Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and Ohlson, a researcher at SIPRI, write: "we have spent a lot of time constructing, as best we can, a picture of the structure of world trade in major weapons. We also have a data bank on military expenditures, and on weapons production. We therefore know what we do not know: that is, we know how inadequate the figures are, how thin their coverage is and how big the margins of error are in many figures."

Blacker, Coit D.
Negotiating security: the MBFR experience. Arms control, v. 7, Dec. 1986: 215-240.

Blackwell, James A., Jr.
In the laps of the gods: the origins of NATO forward defense. Parameters, v. 15, winter 1985: 64-75.
"The military strategy of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is two-pronged, consisting of the principles known as flexible response and forward defense . . . . It is revealing to trace the military implementation of the strategy of forward defense through the early years of Allied defense planning."

Blaker, James R.
On-site inspections: the military significance of an arms-control proposal. Survival, v. 26, May-June 1984: 98-106.
Examines direct military utility of the 'on-site' arms-control inspection measures for the NATO security.

Blay Biosca, Vicente.
Defending the Strait of Gibraltar: Spain's role is vital. International defense review, v. 18, no. 9, 1985: 1399-1400, 1403-1405.
"A zone of such strategic importance cannot be guarded and defended from only one or two bases. Complete Western control of the Strait will require Spanish collaboration."

Blechman, Barry M.
Is there a conventional defense option? Washington quarterly, v. 5, summer 1982: 59-66.
The author writes that "although, theoretically at least, the conventional defense of Western Europe is feasible, postwar history suggests quite strongly that the increased resources and--more importantly--reforms in national military postures that would be necessary to mount such a defense would not be sustained. Moreover, no matter how great an improvement in conventional military capabilities were made by NATO, such measures could not satisfy the political objectives of NATO's nuclear deployments."

A nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe, by Barry M. Blechman and Mark R. Moore. Scientific American, v. 248, Apr. 1983: 37-43.
The authors review the history of the concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones, and survey various proposals for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe. The proposal by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues "to ban nuclear weapons of all kinds from a strip of land on both sides of the East-West boundary in central Europe is viewed as a politically feasible approach to reducing the risk of nuclear war."

Bleker, Peter.

Unilateral nuclear disarmament. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, winter 1981-82: 429-434.

The author, Minister of State for the United Kingdom Armed Forces, concludes that: "to attempt to opt out of NATO's defensive strategy by one-sided disarmament, would do far more harm than good. In the real world, where business has to be done with the Russians, we have to face facts. And the most important fact is that the security of this country, and of the NATO Alliance as a whole, would be gravely imperilled by unilateral disarmament by the United Kingdom."

Bloemer, Klaus.

Freedom for Europe, East and West. Foreign policy, no. 50, spring 1983: 23-38.

The author suggests that "a series of bold proposals by the United States and the West European industrial countries to establish an autonomous Europe could provide the framework for a new global understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union." These proposals would entail: Western help in stabilizing the Soviet economy, withdrawal of U.S. and Soviet troops from Western and Eastern Europe, reorganization of the West European defense system, coordination of French and West German strategic doctrines, military adjustments within Eastern Europe, consolidation of the political and territorial situation in the German region, and reunification of Berlin.

Bolkestein, F.

The Alliance in disarray? A Dutch view. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, summer 1981: 143-151.

A Dutch member of Parliament surveys the Soviet threat to NATO, analyzes relations among NATO countries, and stresses the need for consultation and leadership within NATO.

Bomsdorf, Falk.

A nuclear-weapon-free zone in the north and the USSR. Aussenpolitik, v. 34, no. 1, 1983: 43-63.

"The proposal to set up a nuclear-weapon-free zone (NWFZ) in Northern Europe . . . enjoys wide public support in the Nordic countries . . . . Soviet NWFZ policy in the North astutely exploits this political and psychological background . . . in a textbook example of Moscow's disarmament and arms control policy. It seeks to block for the West the option retained by Norway and Denmark of stationing nuclear weapons on their territory in wartime and aims, in the final analysis at . . . neutralizing Northern and denuclearizing Central Europe."

Bonnart, Frederick.

The extended flank--report on Turkey. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, June-July 1982: 36-37, 39.

Suggests that "Turkey's most pressing problems today are the re-establishment of democratic order and the construction of her industrial base while safeguarding her independence and security." Reviews the importance of Turkey to NATO defenses.

RPV for NATO. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 29, Sept.-Oct. 1984: 89-90, 92-93, 95.

"With sharpening needs for real-time intelligence on and beyond the battlefield and the trend towards extending the battlefield into the enemy's rear, NATO is taking an increasing interest in remotely piloted vehicles. This interest exists at NATO headquarters in the areas of cooperative production possibilities and their use in combat."

Borawski, John.

Farewell to MBFR? Arms control today, v. 17, May 1987: 17-19.

The 13-year-old Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations in Vienna are likely to expire. Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact have proposed a new forum dealing not only with manpower ceilings, but also with main combat weaponry. The article deals with various procedural and substantive obstacles confronting the new negotiations.

The future of INF. Parameters, v. 15, summer 1985: 37-46.

The article discusses some contemporary questions concerning future directions for NATO INF negotiating strategy.

Towards theatre nuclear arms control? Washington quarterly, v. 3, winter 1980: 84-99.
"NATO allies have become increasingly concerned about the ramifications of the SALT II accords and follow-on negotiations on the grey-area weapons systems. While not directly embraced in the deliberately limited scope of the bilateral SALT negotiations, these systems include Soviet theatre nuclear delivery vehicles targeted at the heart of Western Europe."

Boren, David. Garn, Jake. Kupperman, Robert H.
Arms control in the 1980s. Washington quarterly, v. 6, winter 1983: 19-27.
"Efforts to control nuclear arms have, to date, reaped a harvest of distrust and division rather than confidence and stability. Three experts discuss the essential arms-control and security objectives that the United States and its allies should focus on in the coming decade."

Bouvard, Loic.
The legislative role of the French parliament in crisis management. Naval War College review, v. 37, Nov.-Dec. 1984: 80-85.
Examines the role of the French parliament in that country's decision to withdraw from NATO.

Bowie, Robert R.
The Atlantic Alliance. Daedalus, v. 110, winter 1981: 53-69.
Reviews the history of tensions within the Atlantic Alliance. Considers how present tensions differ from those in the past. Predicts future challenges to the Alliance and assesses adaptions needed to surmount them.

Bowman, William R.
Limiting conventional forces in Europe: an alternative to the mutual and balanced force reduction negotiations. Washington, National Defense University Press, for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1985. 84 p. (National security affairs monograph)
Contents.--Negotiations on mutual and balanced force reduction.--NATO's problem: fighting a conventional war.--Will mutual and balanced force reductions solve NATO's problem?--An alternative to MBFR.

Braband, Rolf.
The long term defence programme. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, Oct.-Nov. 1982: 46-47, 49-50, 52.
Reviews the development of NATO's Long Term Defence Programme (LTDP) and its role in NATO defense planning. The LTDP is being incorporated in NATO's planning cycle. "Major equipments will thus be considered together with personnel in NATO's force plans to make a cohesive whole."

Bracken, Paul.
The NATO defense problem. Orbis, v. 27, spring 1983: 83-105.
"Any examination of the defense of NATO runs into two problems. First, reasonable judgments about the Soviet Union, however alarmist, recognize that Moscow has no immediate national interest in starting large-scale military actions in Europe . . . . The second problem . . . is that it involves so many bizarre issues, especially when tactical nuclear weapons are brought into the picture, that any analysis of the problem in peacetime takes on an aura of either sterility or surrealism."

Brady, Linda P.
Negotiating European Security: mutual and balanced force reductions. International security review, v. 6, summer 1981: 189-208.
Discusses the evolution of the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations, and the current status of the talks. Summarizes the negotiating principles underlying NATO and Warsaw Pact positions, and outlines the major outstanding issues. Assesses the "future prospects for MBFR, the relative merits of alternative forums for serious discussions about arms control in Europe, and the pressing need for an MBFR strategy."

Brayton, Albert.
MBFR and conventional forces reductions in Europe. World today, v. 40, Dec. 1984: 497-507.

Breivik, Roy.
Assuring the security of reinforcements to Norway. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, special issue 2, 1982: 66, 68-69.

Brenchley, Frank.
Norway and her Soviet neighbour: NATO's arctic frontier. [London, Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1982] 20 p. (Conflict studies, no. 134)
Describes the strategic position of Norway facing the Soviet Union inside the Arctic Circle.

Brezhnev, Leonid I.
The Soviet view of NATO. Speech by Leonid I. Brezhnev, April 24, 1967. Prepared for the use of the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, pursuant to S. Res. 54, 90th Congress, of the Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, Washington, G.P.O., 1967. 22 p.
At head of title: 90th Congress, 1st session. Committee print.

Bromke, Adam. Nossal, Kim Richard.
Tensions in Canada's foreign policy. Foreign affairs, v. 62, winter 1983-84: 335-353.
"Canada's foreign policy . . . is marked by stability, a penchant for compromise, and a distinct disinclination for rapid political change. Over the last 40 years, there has been a fundamental continuity in Canada's strategic policies, but there has also been a fundamental tension in Canada's position toward the two superpowers. This tension has resurfaced in the last two years, again prompting political debate over Canada's international position . . . . What would Canada's role in NATO be? Should the country give priority . . . to a special relationship with the United States, or should it adopt a more detached stand?"

Brown, James.
Challenges and uncertainty: NATO's southern flank. Air University review, v. 31, May-June 1980: 3-9, 12-16.

Brown, Neville.
The changing face of non-nuclear war. Survival, v. 24, Sept.-Oct. 1982: 211-219.

European security, 1972-1980. London, Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 1972. 168 p.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew.
Getting our global strategies together. Washington times, Jan. 15, 1987: 1D-2D.
Discusses "the basic geopolitcal premises that the United States must address. They call for a longterm American strategy with a military, a geopolitical, and a negotiating component."

National strategy and arms control. Washington quarterly, v. 10, winter 1987: 5-11.
Argues that geopolitical and ideological conflicts between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are the main cause of their mutual hostility, and the arms race is the consequence of it. The United States must make some sound strategic decisions to achieve mutual strategic security, concludes the author.

Brzoska, Michael.
Arms transfer data sources. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 26, Mar. 1982: 77-108.
Reviews conceptual questions concerning arms transfer data. Surveys primary sources for arms transfer data. Compares data provided by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) with data provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

Buchan, Alastair.
The future of NATO. New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1967. 61 p.

Buckley, James L.
Arms transfers and the national interest. Washington, U.S. Dept. of State, 1981. 3 p. (U.S. Dept. of State. Current policy no. 279)
"An address by James L. Buckley, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology, before the Aerospace Industries Association in Williamsburg, Virginia, May 21, 1981."

Budget of the United States Government, fiscal year 1988. [Washington, Office of Management and Budget] for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1987. 7 v.

The "Budget of the United States Government, 1988 contains the Budget Message of the President and presents an overview of the President's budget proposals. It includes summary information on goals of the 1988 Budget, economic assumptions, receipts and outlays, defense and international programs, . . . and various summary data tables."

Bull, Hedley.

European self-reliance and the reform of NATO. Foreign affairs, v. 61, spring 1983: 874-892.

Considers a Europeanist alternative to the present NATO relationship which would require "the transfer from North American to European hands of a greater share of the burden of European defense, and along with it of a greater share of responsibility for decisions."

Bundy, McGeorge.

The Americans and Europe: rhetoric and reality; the eighth foundation lecture, 18 July 1969. Oxford, Ditchley Foundation, 1969. 20 p. (Ditchley Foundation. Lecture 8)

Burden sharing. Atlantic Community quarterly, v., 24, spring 1986: 63-65, 67-79.

Three articles evaluate the term burden sharing and consider its effectiveness.

Contents.--Burden sharing: has the term outlived its usefulness? by Jack A. LeCuyer.--Burden sharing in NATO: myth and reality, by Jonathan Paul Yates.--Allied burden sharing: another view, by Leonard Sullivan, Jr.

Burden sharing of defense expenditures and commitments. Armed Forces journal international, v. 119, Oct. 1981: 56-58, 60, 62, 64-66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 90.

Contents.--The real long-range defense dilemma: burden sharing, by L. Sullivan, Jr.--NATO's two-way street: US changing direction and heading the wrong way? by D. Kyle.--Weinberger whitewashes allied burden sharing.--The trick is how to get it, by R. Komer.

Burgeoning Warsaw Pact threat spurs dual challenge. Aviation week & space technology, v. 116, June 7, 1982: 40-44, 48, 53.

"Sustaining a high level of combat readiness with training at wartime flight tempos while undergoing an aircraft modernization program is the two-pronged challenge facing the U.S. Air Force in Europe (USAFE)."

Burns, Arthur F.

Economic health of the Western Alliance. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 21, spring 1983: 24-32.

U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, Arthur Burns, discusses economic issues that have been recent sources of friction between the United States and her European allies.

Burt, Richard.

The deployment of missiles in Europe. Washington post, Nov. 27, 1983: B8.

"The essence of the NATO achievement is the demonstration of alliance strength and cohesion under pressure . . . . To understand the significance of the deployments, it is important to recognize the fundamental stakes involved in NATO's 1979 decision."

Buteux, Paul.

The politics of nuclear consultation in NATO, 1965-1980. Cambridge, New York, Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1983. 292 p.

Strategy, doctrine, and the politics of alliance: threatre nuclear force modernisation in NATO. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1983. 158 p.

Butler, Francis P.

Reassessing Turkey: a faithful ally disillusioned and in trouble. Parameters, v. 10, Mar. 1980: 24-32.

Cahn, Anne Hessing.
Arms sales economics: the sellers' perspectives. Stanford journal of international studies, v. 14, spring 1979: 125-137.
"The economic benefits of arms sales can be analyzed from the perspective of either the buying or the selling country. This article will consider the validity of economic rationales from the supplier's side of the equation . . . . The first part of this article will focus on those rationalizations with international economic implications: easing balance of payments deficits, increasing commercial trade between the parties, and aiding alliance standardization. The second part of the article will focus on the rationalization having important domestic consequences: reducing unemployment, lowering per unit production costs and contributing to the validity of defense industries."

Calaway, P. Robert.
Forging NATO's tools--armaments cooperation: a modest success story. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 28, Feb.-Mar. 1983: 36-38, 41.
"While much lip service has been paid to the ideals of rationalisation, standardisation, interoperability and their consequences of much improved operational efficiency and cost effectiveness, cold reality has been very different. But patiently and gradually the Alliance has been evolving procedures and systems which are now beginning to produce results. Robert Calaway, the author of some of the new concepts, gives an insight into how they work."

Callaghan, Thomas A., Jr.
NATO's collection of forces: falling short of a balanced, conventional defense. Journal of defense & diplomacy, v. 5, no. 7, 1987: 15-19.
"The North Atlantic Treaty, for all its virtues, is fatally flawed. It calls forth a collective security mechanism for the defense of Europe but fails to provide a collective defense industrial effort to produce a collective conventional defense. In the early 1950s, alliance leaders tried to surmount this flaw."

The unbuilt street--defense industrial cooperation within the Alliance. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, Oct.-Nov. 1982: 26, 28, 30.
Examines the need for U.S.-Western European cooperation in weapons standardization, armaments procurement, and military trade. Considers barriers to cooperation posed by "anti-cooperation riders" to U.S. defense appropriations bills, specifying that materials or equipment must be produced in the U.S. Also discusses the Roth-Glenn-Nunn Amendment supporting Allied armaments cooperation.

Calleo, David P.
American domestic priorities and the demands of alliance. Political science quarterly, v. 98, spring 1983: 1-15.
"David P. Calleo examines the degree to which America's domestic political priorities interfere with its foreign obligations, particularly its alliances with Western Europe." He suggests that "the current deep troubles of American foreign policy should not be blamed on the domestic constraints of democracy, nor upon an upsurge of traditional populist neoisolationism. If the American public is unschooled in world politics, its leaders have never presented a suitable curriculum."

Beyond American hegemony: the future of the Western Alliance. New York, Basic Books, c1987.
This book will be available later in 1987.

Campbell, Edwina S.
Consultation and consensus in NATO, implementing the Canadian article. Lanham, University Press of America, c1985. 209 p.

Can America catch up? The U.S.-Soviet military balance. Washington, Committee on the Present Danger, [1984] 61, A-7 p.
Contents.--The view from the Kremlin.--The elements of deterrence.--The military balance.--Strategic offensive forces.--Strategic defensive forces.--U.S. strategic forces.--Theater nuclear forces.--U.S. theater nuclear forces.--General purpose forces.--Naval forces.--The NATO-Warsaw Pact general purpose force balance.--Chemical and biological warfare.--Prudent resource allocation.--Conclusion.

Canby, Steven.
Canada's role in NATO: the Laggard who can rescue the Alliance, by Steven Canby and Jean Edward Smith. Strategic review, v. 13, summer 1985: 47-59.
"The recognition has grown that Canada's dismal defense performance is incompatible not only with her elementary national interests, but also with her desired voice in the Alliance."

More troops, fewer missiles, by Steven Canby and Ingemar Dorfer. Foreign policy, no. 53, winter 1983-1984: 3-17.
The authors argue for the strengthening of NATO's conventional defenses that would remove the need for GLCMs and Pershing II. "Given Soviet fears of the first-strike capabilities . . . dispensing with the Pershing II deployment would reassure Moscow without undermining the security of the West European countries." Creating conventional parity on the central front would minimize the risks of war.

NATO military policy: the constraints imposed by an inappropriate military structure. [Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp.] 1972. 13 p.

NATO military policy: obtaining conventional comparability with the Warsaw Pact: a report prepared for Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand, 1973. 94 p.

NATO: reassessing the conventional wisdoms. Survival, v. 29, July-Aug. 1977: 164-168.

NATO strategy: political-military problems of divergent interests and operational concept. Military review, v. 59, Apr. 1979: 50-58.
Identifies shortcomings in the current NATO defense strategy. While the U.S. is urging the use of conventional force as a deterrent, West Europeans still believe that nuclear response is the answer to any serious aggression.

Capitanchik, David.
Public opinion and nuclear weapons in Europe. Arms control, v. 4, Sept. 1983: 111-120.

Cardwell, Thomas A.
Follow-on forces attack: joint interdiction by another name. Military review, v. 66, Feb. 1986: 4-11.
"Why has the NATO concept of follow-on forces attack caused such controversy in European capitals? Is it a new, radical departure from previous concepts?"

Carlberg, Ron.
Behind the transatlantic dialogue. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 29, Sept.-Oct. 1984: 42-43, 45-46, 49-50.
Examines cooperation in the procurement of arms for the NATO alliance.

Carnoy, Alan.
The greatest failure of American foreign aid. San Francisco, Laum Pub. Co., [1972] 147 p.

Carothers, Thomas.
Spain, NATO and democracy. World today, v. 37, July-Aug. 1981: 298-303.

Carpenter, Ted Galen.
Standing guard over Europe. Reason, v. 16, Aug. 1984: 43-47.
Contends that "American troops in Europe were never meant to be a part of NATO--but they've been there for 33 years."

Carrington, Peter.
The Atlantic Alliance and European Security. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 130, Sept. 1985: 3-6.
"A lecture given at the Royal United Services Institute on 16 May 1985 by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Carrington, KG, Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

The defense of Europe. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 23, spring 1985: 25-31.
In this April 10, 1985 speech at the Institut Francais des Relations Internationales, Lord Carrington, Secretary General of NATO, discusses Alliance unity, French cooperation, increased European arms production and procurement, and European response to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative.

NATO: politics and defense. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 22, fall 1984: 195-199.
Secretary General of NATO discusses the alliance, its objectives and goals.

Carter, Ralph C.
Congressional foreign policy behavior: persistent patterns of the postwar period. Presidential studies quarterly, v. 16, spring 1986: 329-359.
"The conventional view of the congressional role in American foreign policymaking has long been that Congress is a minor actor at best. The congressional role is to follow the President's lead. If that pattern has changed at all, it is presumed to have changed only recently as a result of the unpopularity of the Vietnam War."

Carver, Richard Michael Power. Tuzo, Harry.
Conventional defence of Europe. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 128, June 1983: 7-11.
Advocates a European defense strategy based on strengthened conventional weapons systems. Further, that Britain's nuclear missiles ought to be counted in arms control negotiations.

Center for Defense Information.
NATO, nuclear weapons, and the death of detente. Defense monitor, v. 9, Mar. 1980: 1-8.
Concludes that over the past decade the military buildup of the Warsaw Pact has been more than matched by the NATO countries. Discusses plans for new U.S. missiles in Europe and identifies new dangers which could place strains on the NATO alliance.

Chace, James.
Ike was right. Atlantic monthly, v. 260, Aug. 1987: 39-41.
"One way to help redress the balance between America's economic power and its military obligations would be to reduce U.S. troop strength in Europe."

Chacko, George K. Stratvert, Bruce N.
Systems approach to multinational acquisition: NATO AWACS. Concepts, v. 4, autumn 1981: 90-106.
Describes the systems analysis approach used to determine the impact of a NATO country's decision not to participate in the acquisition program for the E-3A airborne early warning and control systems (AWACS) aircraft. Suggests that the methodology might be useful for other multinational acquisition problems of a similar nature.

Chadwick, Stephen, K.
Eastern anchor of NATO. United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 111, Mar. 1985: 128-132.
Describes operations of Turkish naval NATO forces.

Chalfont, Arthur Gwyn Jones, Baron.
The cracks in the Alliance. United States Naval Institute proceedings, Dec. 1984: 36-43.
"There is, in fact, no real choice for Western Europe. The inescapable necessity for the whole of NATO is to bend the efforts of foreign policy to repairing the cracks appearing in the Alliance and to recognize that there are long-term strategic concerns that override short- and medium-term conflicts of economic interests, because they are not matters simply of stability and prosperity but of survival."

Challenge and commitment: a defence policy for Canada. [Ottawa] Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1987. 89 p.
Contents.--Introduction.--The international environment.--The military threat.--Canadian defence policy.--The structure of the forces.--The commitment-capability gap.--The way ahead.--Foundations for defence.--The armed forces and society.--Conclusion.

Challenges for U.S. national security--assessing the balance: defense spending and conventional forces; a preliminary report. Prepared by the staff of the Carnegie Panel on U.S. Security and the Future of Arms Control. Washington, (11 Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981. 191 p.

Challenges for U.S. national security: defense spending and the economy, the strategic balance and strategic arms limitation; a preliminary report. Prepared by the Staff of the Carnegie Panel on U.S. Security and the Future of Arms Control. Washington, (11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, c1981. 139 p.

Challenges for U.S. national security: nuclear strategy issues of the 1980s: strategic vulnerabilities, command, control, communications, and intelligence, theatre nuclear forces: a third report. Prepared by the staff of the Carnegie Panel on U.S. Security and the Future of Arms Control. Washington (11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1982. 198 p.

Challenges for U.S. national security: the Soviet approach to arms control verification, problems and prospects and conclusions: final report. Prepared by the Staff of the Carnegie Panel on U.S. Security and the Future of Arms Control. Washington, (11 Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, c1983. 101 p.

Contents.--The Soviet approach to arms control.--Verification.--Problems and prospects.--Conclusions: the future of arms control.

Assesses "the key security challenges of the 1980s and explores what contribution, if any, arms control might make to U.S. security."

Charles, Daniel.

Facing up to first use of nuclear weapons. F.A.S. [Journal of the Federation of American Scientists] public interest report, v. 39, May 1986: 1-12.

"The architects of NATO's nuclear deterrent strategy hoped that the threat of nuclear war would banish the fear of Soviet military aggression from the European continent. Yet NATO's reliance on these weapons of mass destruction has produced a whole new crop of fears, dangers, and dilemmas."

Nuclear planning in NATO: pitfalls of first use. Cambridge, Mass., Ballinger Pub. Co., c1987. 177 p.

"A Federation of American Scientists book."

Charters, David. Graham, Dominick. Tugwell, Maurice.

No substitute for peace. [Fredericton, New Brunswick] University of New Brunswick, Centre for Conflict Studies, 1983. 54 p.

Contents.--Alarmed by the threat to survival.--Concepts of peace.--Keeping our balance.--Unilateral nuclear disarmament.--Nuclear-weapon-free zones.--Arms control, freezes, bans and moratoriums.--No-first-use theories.--The longer-term consequences of losing our balance.--Problems of imperialism--Towards peace and disarmament.

Chichester, Michael.

Britain and Nato: the case for revision. World today, v. 38, Nov. 1982: 415-421.

"The outcome of the current debate on the future course of British defence policy will have profound effects on the future of the Nato Alliance . . . . Reconciliation can only be achieved either by increased allocations to the defense budget or by a reduction in the overall military contribution to Nato."

NATOs maritime power: its place in a new strategy. Navy international, v. 91, Aug. 1986: 504-506.

"The politico-military threat is now global represented by the long-term Soviet campaign to extend its influence into areas of strategic and economic importance to the Western industrialised nations and to Japan, notably into southern Africa, the south-west Pacific area, and the Caribbean basin. . . . Of necessity Western maritime power predominantly provided by the USA will be the primary means of combating this threat outside the NATO area. Compared with 30 years ago the strategic commitments of the United States Navy have been dramatically extended."

Cimbala, Stephen J.
NATO vulnerabilities: is defeat possible? Military review, v. 65, June 1985: 58-70.
"There has been much speculation over the years about how well NATO's military forces would fare against those of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. This article considers the possibility that the NATO forces could serve as adequate deterrents but might be vulnerable to defeat should deterrence fail."

Soviet "blitzkrieg" in Europe: the abiding nuclear dimension. Strategic review, v. 14, summer 1986: 67-75.
"Western military analysts have increasingly focused on the likelihood of a Soviet 'conventional-only' option of waging a 'blitzkrieg' offensive against NATO in the event of war in Europe. Clearly Soviet planners would prefer such an option to the risks entailed in a resort to nuclear weapons. Yet, in embracing the option, the Soviets would have to make a series of extremely fragile assumptions regarding the progression of the battle and NATO responses . . . . In all, a conventional war in Europe on any appreciable scale will be a war capable of quickly turning nuclear."

Theater nuclear and conventional force improvements. Armed Forces & society, v. 11, fall 1984: 115-129.
"The pressures of domestic politics and budgets in Europe have prevented Europeans from increasing commitments to improved conventional forces. This creates feedback which supports theoretical rationales for better nuclear forces."

Clarke, Duncan L.
Why State can't lead. Foreign policy, no. 66, spring 1987: 129-142.
Why is the White House taking over the management of U.S. foreign policy: a critique of the Department of State limited ability in making and coordinating foreign policy.

Clark, Joe.
Canada and NATO in the 1990s. NATO review, v. 34, June 1986: 1-6.
Canadian Minister for External Affairs discusses Canada's involvement with NATO. "The presence of Canada in NATO represents a two-fold act of faith: for the first time in its history, Canada joined a military alliance in peacetime and, moreover, agreed to station members of its forces outside its national territory . . . in an integrated inter-allied military structure. Thus did Canada twice over express its solidarity with Europe."

Clarke, John L.
Is the NATO Alliance structure appropriate for the 1980s? Military review, v. 59, Apr. 1979: 25-34.
"Originally established to prevent a Russo-Communist takeover in Europe, it has accomplished the purpose for which it was intended. But, after three decades of change, which has made the USSR a challenge to our interests globally, Americans are still locked in to an alliance that is strictly one-sided. We guarantee support to Europe, but without reciprocal pledges from other nations in the event a non-European issue is at stake."

NATO, neutrals and national defence. Survival, v. 24, Nov.-Dec. 1982: 260-265.
Examines defense doctrines and force structures of Austria, Finland, Sweden and Switzerland. Suggests that "the experience of the European neutrals makes clear that these countries have been able to generate much more manpower at much lower cost than the NATO countries have been able to achieve," and considers whether NATO countries might be able to adopt similar policies.

Claude, Inis L., Jr.
The common defense and great-power responsibilities. Political science quarterly, v. 101, no. 5, 1986: 719-732.
"Examines the difficulties faced by the United States and other great powers in making their external responsibilities for defense of their allies and for the stability of the international system as a whole compatible with their obligation to provide for the 'common defense' of their own societies."

Cleveland, Harlan.
NATO: the transatlantic bargain. New York, Harper & Row [1970] 204 p.

The CMEA five-year plans (1981-1985) in a new perspective: planned and non-planned economies. Brussels, NATO Economics and Information Directorates, 1983. 309 p.

Partial contents.--CMEA economic performance in the 1970s: a balance sheet of successes and failures, by H. Clement.--Economic activity in Eastern Europe, 1981-1985: some time series forecasts, by P. Davies.--What we still don't know about the Soviet economy, by P. Wiles.--Technical progress and political change in the Soviet Union, by R. Amann.--East Europe, by C. Szathmary.--Transportation as a factor in plan fulfilment, by H. Hunter.--Implications of CMEA five-year plans for East-West, by J. Hardt.

Codevilla, Angelo M.
U.S. forces in Europe: why and whether? International security review, v. 6, winter 1981-1982: 465-476.

"American forces in Europe can perform a useful political function only if they can perform the military function for which they were retained in Europe in the 1940's. Yet the relative decline of American military power in the world has made it more necessary than ever that American troops in Europe, together with those of the allies, be able to actually fight, protect European civilians, and win. Today, they cannot be expected to do that successfully . . . . If American troops are given that capability, it will be reasonable for them to stay in Europe. If they are not given that capability, it will be reasonable for them to stay in Europe. If they are not given that capability, it will be reasonable for them to be withdrawn."

Coffey, Joseph I.
Deterrence and arms control: American and West German perspectives on INF. Denver, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, 1985. 116 p. (Monograph series in world affairs, v. 21, Book 4)

Contents.--The double-track decision of 1979.--American perspectives on INF and arms control.--West German perspectives on INF and arms control.--The future of INF.--Conclusion.

Coffey, Kenneth J.
Defending Europe against a conventional attack. Air University review, v. 31, Jan.-Feb. 1980: 47-59.

"This article analyzes the significance of the changes that have occurred during the AVF All-Volunteer Force years, particularly regarding the ability of the army to provide massive reinforcements on a continuing basis in the event of a major land war in Europe."

Coghlan, Jim.
Strengthening NATO's air defense C3I. Defense electronics, v. 18, June 1986: 179, 181-182, 184.

Cohen, Eliot A.
The long-term crisis of the Alliance. Foreign affairs, v. 61, winter 1982-83: 325-343.

The author maintains that the Western Alliance is "imperiled by structural contradictions and adverse long-term trends."

Cohen, William S.
NATO, SDI and arms control. Armed Forces journal international, v. 122, Apr. 1985: 34, 36, 38.

Examines the implications for NATO of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Coker, Christoper.
A nation in retreat? Britain's defence commitment. London; Washington, D.C., Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1986. 154 p.

The future of the Atlantic Alliance. London, Macmillan, Royal United Services Institute, 1984. 241 p.

The Western Alliance and Africa 1949-81. African affairs, v. 81, July 1982: 319-335.

"Compared to Soviet intervention in Angola and the Horn which had the broad support of the majority of OAU members NATO's alleged intervention in Zaire appeared much more threatening . . . . Yet, it may well be asked whether Africa has ever fitted into NATO contingency planning or whether contrary to popular belief the Atlantic Alliance has been much more sensitive to African opinion and attentive to African aspirations than its critics have given it credit."

Cole, Paul M.

The Northern balance: changing realities in defending Northern Europe. Defense & foreign affairs, v. 14, Dec. 1986: 21-23, 27, 30.

Collier, Ellen C.

The power of the purse in foreign policy. Congressional Research Service review, v. 7, Jan. 1986: 2-4.

"The power of the purse has become the most potent tool of Congress for shaping foreign policy. This was vividly illustrated when Congress prohibited the use of funds to finance combat activities by U.S. military forces 'in or over or from off the shores of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia' after August 15, 1973. In innumerable other budget actions, many of which are little noted, Congress also shapes, constrains, and redirects foreign policy."

Collins, John M. Cronin, Patrick M.

U.S.-Soviet military balance 1980-1985. Washington, Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, 1985. 360 p.

Conant, Melvin A.

The allies as petro-partners. Washington quarterly, v. 4, autumn 1981: 101-106.

Reviews Western Europe's energy dependence and differing U.S. and European perspectives on relations with the U.S.S.R. and the Middle East, in light of differing energy needs.

Confronting Moscow: an agenda for the Post-Detente Era. Edited by W. Bruce Weinrod. Washington, Heritage Foundation, c1985. 78 p.

"Critical issues"

Contents.--The U.S.-Soviet strategic nuclear relationship, by C. Lord.--The challenge of arms control, by J. Hackett.--NATO's role in meeting the Soviet challenge, by M. Hamm.--Eastern Europe: loosening the Soviet grip, by A. Puddington.--East-West trade policy: maintain the present course, by L. Brady.--Responding to low-intensity conflict and terrorism, by R. Shultz.--Encouraging anti-Marxist movements, by S. Morris.--The war of ideas, by J. Hackett.--Prospects for internal reform, by V. Bukovsky.

Congressional presentation fiscal year 1988. [Washington?] U.S. Agency for International Development [1987] 911 p.

"This volume of A.I.D.'s FY 1988 Congressional Presentation (CP) reflects the program and budget justification of the Reagan Administration bilateral foreign assistance program. The Main Volume summarizes the request and describes certain other programs in which A.I.D. plays a role. It also describes issues of 'special concern' which are relevant to the United States development assistance effort."

Partial contents.--Authorization and budget request.--P.L. 480--Food for peace.--Private and voluntary organizations.--Women in development.--Regional program summary.--Program statistics.

Congressional Quarterly, inc.

U.S. defense policy: weapons, strategy and commitments. Washington, 1980. 130, 89-A p.

Contents.--Defense spending.--SALT II.--MX missile.--Nuclear non-proliferation.--Uranium sale to India.--Navy future.--Combat readiness.--Rapid deployment force.--Middle East.--NATO Alliance.--Arms sales policy.--Arms control.--Draft registration.--All-volunteer force.--Military pay and benefits.--Military dependents overseas.

Congressional Research Service.

What should be the level of U.S. commitment for national defense? National debate topic for high schools, 1982-1983, pursuant to Public Law 88-246. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 883 p. (Senate, Document, 97th Congress, 2nd session, no. 97-34)

Congressional Research Service. Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division. The modernization of NATO's long-range theater nuclear forces; report prepared for the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives by the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington, G.P.O., 1981. 80 p.

NATO after Afghanistan; report prepared for the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives. Washington, G.P.O., 1980. 64 p.
At head of title: 96th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

NATO standardization: political, economic, and military issues for Congress; report to the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives. Washington, G.P.O., 1977. 58 p.
At head of title: 95th Congress, 1st session. Committee print.

United States foreign policy objectives and overseas military installations. Washington, G.P.O., 1979. 207 p.
At head of title: 96th Congress, 1st session. Committee print.

Connell, Jon.
The new Maginotline. New York, Arbor House, c1986. 348 p.

Controlling deadly weapons. Society, v. 24, July-Aug. 1987: 38-79.
Contents.--The Gorbachev offensive, by Colin S. Gray.--Crafting a strategic compromise, by Alton Frye.--Developing Soviet forces, by Leon Goure.--Future force planning, by William H. Kincade.--Doctrine and deterrence, by Stephen J. Cimbala.--Explaining Soviet compliance, by Gloria Duffy.--Soviet aims in Europe, by David S. Yost.

Constraints on strategy: the economics of Western security. Edited by David B.H. Denoon. Washington, Pargamon-Brassey's, c1986. 254 p.

Containment: 40 years later. Foreign affairs, v. 65, spring 1987: 827-890.
Contents.--Introduction.--On ending the Cold War, by W. W. Rostow.--The sources of Soviet conduct.--The Cold War, by Walter Lippmann.--Containment then and now, by George F. Kennan.

Containment: concept and policy. Edited by Terry L. Deibel and John Lewis Gaddis. Washington, National Defense University Press, 1986. 2 v.

Controversy over NATO cost-sharing. Congressional digest, v. 63, Aug.-Sept. 1984: 193-224.
Contents.--Controversy over NATO cost-sharing.--Pros & cons: is the Nunn-Roth approach to the U.S. role in NATO sound?

Controversy over the scope of U.S. arms shipments abroad. Congressional digest, v. 57, Apr. 1978: 99-128.
Contents.--Forward.--Role of military assistance in the U.S. foreign aid program.--Government-to-government.--Commercial sales.--The President's arms transfer policy statement.--Action in Congress since 1976.--Should Congress now apply greater restraints on transfers of U.S. arms abroad?

Cordesman, Anthony H.
Defense burden sharing a brief scorecard on our major allies (and ourselves). Armed Forces journal international, v. 120, Oct. 1982: 64, 66, 68, 70, 72. 90.
Reviews defense spending, military forces, and military policies of NATO countries. Suggests that "there is little reason to add the burden-sharing game, threats of US withdrawals, and hints of neo-military isolationism to the factors that already divide the West."

NATO's estimate of the balance: the meaning for US security policy. Armed Forces journal international, v. 119, Aug. 1982: 48, 50-58, 68.

Examines political and analytical problems in NATO's recent reassessment of the military balance, NATO and the Warsaw Pact: force comparisons. Suggests that while NATO and U.S. advocates of a strong defense often feel that the growth of Soviet bloc forces must be turned into a crisis to justify high defense budgets, "virtually all indicators seem to be that the constant harping on the Soviet nuclear threat, and the problems in NATO, is shifting public opinion heavily toward support of arms-control measures that are militarily dangerous and favor Soviet goals and objectives."

SDI and Europe: where does theatre defense fit in? International defense review, v. 20, no. 4, 1987: 409-414.

"Provides an overview of the 'theatre' implications of SDI. Looking at both the US and Europe points of view, he argues that SDI and theatre defense are inseparable and must be developed on a co-operative basis."

Whence the Threat to Peace: the Soviet view of the threat. Armed Forces journal international, v. 120, Apr. 1983: 91-93, 95, 97.

"The Soviet Union has recently issued the second edition of its view of the balance of power. Called Whence the Threat to Peace, it also presents a detailed attack on the first editions of the US' Soviet Military Power and NATO's NATO and Warsaw Pact Force Comparisons. It is propaganda--but it provides an important perspective on the ways in which the USSR systematically attacks NATO's effort to rebuild Western defenses, undermines Western unity, and exploits every weakness in the West's case for arms control."

Cordier, Sherwood S.

The air and sea lanes of the North Atlantic: their security in the 1980's. [Washington] University Press of America [1981] 84 p.

Coroalles, Anthony M.

Maneuver to win: a realistic alternative. Military review, v. 61, Sept. 1981: 35-46.

The author contends that the foundations of NATO strategy are flawed by their dependence on firepower attrition. He discusses the tactical aspects of an alternative maneuver strategy.

Corterier, Peter.

The ATA [Atlantic Treaty Association] and a new approach to NATO information. NATO review, v. 34, Apr. 1986: 15-21.

"In this article Dr. Corterier, a Social Democratic member of the Bundestag and a former Minister of State in the German Foreign Ministry, argues that NATO publics are not being sufficiently informed about Alliance policies. He considers the implications of this situation, ways in which it could be improved and, in particular, the role played by the ATA and its national member committees."

Cotter, Donald R.

The emerging INF agreement: a case for strategic regression. Strategic review, v. 15, summer 1987: 11-19.

NATO theater nuclear forces: an enveloping military concept. Strategic review, v. 9, spring 1981: 44-53.

"This article attempts to adduce a rationale for improving NATO's defensive posture through an integrated approach to modernizing the Alliance's conventional and nuclear capabilities. The argument is advanced that the 1979 NATO TNF decsion, while a significant step forward, does not fulfill the required nuclear posture, and that a strengthening of the conventional component of the NATO posture can be achieved at acceptable cost."

The nuclear "balance" in Europe: status, trends, implications, by Donald R. Cotter, James H. Hanson, and Kirk McConnell. Washington, United States Strategic Institute [1983] 48 p. (USSI report 83-1)
Contents.--Assessing the nuclear balance in Europe: faults, distortions and myths.--The evolution of NATO theater nuclear forces.--Theater nuclear weapons in Soviet strategy.--A comparison of NATO and Warsaw Pact land-based surface-to-surface missile systems.--The myth of the "forward based systems."--An overall TNW comparison.--The "balance" and NATO's force modernization.

Coufoudakis, Van.
Greek-Turkish relations, 1973-1983. International society, v. 9, spring 1985: 185-217.

Council on Foreign Relations. Commission on U.S.-Soviet Relations.
The Soviet challenge: a policy framework for the 1980s. [New York] Council on Foreign Relations [1981] 31 p.

Cowen, Gina.
German security thinking revisited. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 127, Sept. 1982: 33-38.

Reflections on consensus in NATO: past experience and present problems. Arms control, v. 4, Sept. 1983: 134-146.
"The ongoing debate over INF, declaratory 'no first use' and Flexible Response in general is the latest example in a series of attempts by the alliance to come to terms with the apparent inevitabilities of alliance structure and strategy."

Cowen, Tyler.
The economics of arms sales. Policy report, v. 4, July 1982: 6-7, 9-11.

Cowie, Charles A. Williams, Richard B. M.
NATO's rapid reinforcement plans: the role of civil air resources. NATO review, v. 35, June 1987: 26-29.
Chairman and vice chairman of NATO's Civil Aviation Planning Committee examine "the Rapid Reinforcement Plan (RRP)." This program "has become a cornerstone for NATO planning and a current primary deterrent available to the Alliance. This plan is intended to make the Soviets pause and consider the overall consequences before launching a full-scale attack on NATO territory, and to display the resolution of the Alliance to defend itself and repel any attack."

Cremasco, Maurizio.
The political debate on the deployment of Euromissiles: the Italian case. International spectator, v. 19, Apr.-June 1984: 115-121.

The Crisis in Western security. Edited by Lawrence S. Hagen. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1982. 247 p.

Critchley, Julian.
The North Atlantic Alliance and the Soviet Union in the 1980s. London, MacMillan, Atlantic Highlands, N.J., Humanities Press, 1982. 210 p.

Should the first use of nuclear arms be renounced? RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies], v. 127, Dec. 1982: 32-34.

Crollen, Luc.
NATO and arms control. NATO review, v. 28, Dec. 1980: 20-24; 24-30.

Cromwell, William C.
The Eurogroup and NATO. Philadelphia, Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1974. 55 p. (Research monograph series, Foreign Policy Research Institute, no. 18)

Cross, Major T.
Forward defence--a time for change? RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 130, June 1985: 19-24.
"The aim of this article is to examine the principle of Forward Defence, comment upon its weaknesses and detail some improvements considered necessary to re-affirm its credibility."

Crowe, William J., Jr.
U.S. military power & global security. Defense/87, Jan.-Feb. 1987: 29-35.
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff discusses U.S. national defense policy. "The genuine significance of our military power lies in its steady-state contributions . . . as an important element in promoting stability, political maturity and prosperity."

Crozier, Brian.
Soviet crisis and Western disunity: contending timetables. Strategic review, v. 10, fall 1982: 21-28.
"The West faces a sweeping and possible climactic Soviet offensive with weakened internal defenses and a disarray . . . . But the Soviets, too, are working under a timetable of corrosive crisis within their own system and empire . . . . The Western nations can hope to surmount their historic predicament only by joining in the effort to bring about a visible reversal of the Soviet offensive . . . . They must cease in effect subsidizing the opponent's power through high-technology transfers and easy credits."

Cruise missiles and Western European security: three perspectives. New scientist, v. 97, Mar. 31, 1983: 878-885.
Mark Hewish contends "Going to war with cruise missiles would be precise, ruthless and utterly effective." Michael Heseltine suggests that cruise missiles "do not represent a new dimension in warfare; rather, they continue the strategy that has kept the peace in Europe for 40 years." In a contrasting perspective, John Silkin argues that "cruise missiles are unnecessary, divisive and escalate the arms race. What is more, they could light the touch paper for a nuclear war in Europe."

Cutler, Tom.
NATO and oil supply vulnerability: the role of the Petroleum Planning Committee. NATO review, v. 32, Oct. 1984: 26-31.
Describes the PPC's "activities, explains its emergency arrangements, including NATO Wartime Oil Organization, and assesses the extent of NATO's oil supply vulnerability."

Czempiel, Ernst-Otto.
Germany--USA: cooperation and irritations. Aussenpolitik, v. 33, no. 1, 1982: 13-28.

Dahrendorf, Ralf. Sorensen, Theodore C.
A widening Atlantic? Domestic change & foreign policy. Andrew J. Pierre, editor. New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1986. 107 p. (Europe/America, 4)

Dankbaar, Ben.
Alternative defense policies and the peace movement. Journal of peace research, v. 21, June 1984: 141-155.
"In recent years several alternative defense policies have been developed which promise to diminish or eliminate the role of nuclear weapons in the defense of Western Europe, thereby fulfiling a major demand of the peace movement. It is argued that these alternatives and the peace movement have a common political background in the changing relationship between the U.S. and Western Europe."

Dankert, Pieter.
Speaking up on defense. Europe, no. 234, Nov.-Dec. 1982: 30-32.
The President of the European Parliament discusses "strains between the U.S. and its European allies. He advocates that Europeans "develop a common approach to the requirements of Western security--an approach that would derive from European assessments and European perspectives."

Dannenbring, Fredo.
East-West relations: are there common NATO positions? NATO review, v. 32, Oct. 1984: 1-7.
Author claims that "the Alliance has broad agreement both on a strategy for East-West relations and a commitment to create the necessary security in which a more constructive dialogue can be pursued."

Danopoulos, Constantine P.
Alliance participation and foreign policy influence: the military's role. Armed Forces & society, v. 11, winter 1985: 271-290.

The article attempts "to determine whether and why participation in defense alliances influences the attitudes of the professional military of member-states and their foreign policy. This is to be accomplished by discussing the military's behavior and the foreign policy orientations of two NATO members, Greece and Portugal; two of their counterparts in the Warsaw Pact, Czechoslovakia and Poland; and two traditionally neutral states, Egypt and India. The article will focus on how the military affect foreign policy and assess the nature of the impact, if any."

Darilek, Richard E.
The future of conventional arms control in Europe; a tale of two cities: Stockholm, Vienna. Survival, v. 29, Jan.-Feb. 1987: 5-20.

Evaluates the outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBM) in terms of its contribution to operational arms control. The article also assesses likely options for the future of conventional arms control in Europe (MBFR).

Davis, Jacquelyn K.
The Atlantic Alliance and U.S. global strategy, by Jacquelyn K. Davis, and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. Cambridge, Mass., Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1983. 47 p.

Contents.--The United States and European defense/deterrence.--Soviet/Warsaw Pact theater strategy, tactics, and force posture.--Flexible response and tactical planning: revising NATO strategy.--Arms control, NATO strategy, and the Andropov INF proposals.--Deep strike and forward defense: a new conventional option for NATO?--European security and the United States: evolving a new partnership.

Europe's edgy approach to strategy. Air Force magazine, v. 68, Dec. 1985: 82, 84, 87-88.

"The Europeans worry that forward defense and flexible response will be abandoned in favor of AirLand Battle and FOFA [Follow-on Forces Attack]."

Theater-nuclear force modernization and NATO's flexible response strategy. In National security policy for the 1980s. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1981. (Annals, v. 457, Sept. 1981) p. 78-87.

Contends that Soviet force developments have resulted in erosion of the military balance in Europe, calling into question NATO's deterrence posture and its reliance on a strategy of flexible response. Considers the role modernization of NATO's theater nuclear forces could play in strengthening NATO's deterrent and defense posture.

Davis, Tami R. Lynn-Jones, Sean M.
"City upon a hill." Foreign policy, no. 66, spring 1987: 20-38.

"The flame of American patriotism, which dimmed and flickered after Vietnam and Watergate, is burning as brightly as ever . . . . However, little attention has been given to the content of this new patriotism and even less to the implications for U.S. foreign policy carried by the exceptionalist feeling that has accompanied it." Yet exceptionalism also poses practical problems for U.S. dealings with other countries.

Davis, Lynn E.
A proposal for TNF arms control. Survival, v. 23, Nov.-Dec. 1981: 242-246.

Surveys issue to be considered in developing the U.S. approach to arms control negotiations on theater nuclear forces, and outlines one approach that could be taken.

De Briganti, Giovanni.
Europe's navies: can they keep NATO ports open? Armed Forces journal international, v. 122, Apr. 1985: 48, 50, 54, 56, 58, 60, 64.

Assesses naval strength for each of the NATO navies.

Dean, Jonathan.
Beyond first use. Foreign policy, no. 48, fall 1982: 37-53.
"Examination of the rationale for the first use strategy advanced by its proponents can provide an opportunity to evaluate NATO's current defense strategy. The key question is whether the degree of emphasis it now places on nuclear deterrence can receive adequate support over the long run from West European public and parliamentary opinion and if not whether it is possible to reach some tentative conclusions about the feasibility of relinquishing or of modifying that strategy."

Can NATO survive (relative) success. NATO review, v. 34, Dec. 1986: 14-21.

Military security in Europe. Foreign affairs, v. 66, fall 1987: 22-40.

MBFR: from apathy to accord. International security, v. 7, spring 1983: 116-139.
Examines the motivations underlying the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks in Vienna, the development and present status of MBFR negotiations, obstacles to reaching an agreement, criticisms of the negotiations, benefits an agreement would offer, and prospects that an agreement will be concluded.

Watershed in Europe: dismantling the East-West military confrontation. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, c1987 [i.e. 1986] 286 p.
Contents.--The end of the Western defense consensus.--The East-West military confrontation: war in Europe.--Shifting the emphasis to conventional deterrence: a critical evaluation.--Beyond the watershed in Europe.--Arms control in Europe: a disordered puzzle.--INF: the crisis of extended deterrence.--The MBFR marathon.--The conference on disarmament in Europe: a lasting institution.--The limited promise of arms control in urope.--Political change and East-West solutions.--The inner-German relationship: can it change the political map of Europe?--Dismantling the NATO-Warsaw Pact confrontation.

DeBoer, Connie.
The polls: our commitment to World War III. Public opinion quarterly, v. 45, spring 1981: 126-134.
Discusses results of polls surveying public opinion in NATO countries regarding military defense issues. Suggests that "changes in public opinion in Western countries on arms and defense expenditure are related to people's expectations of war, to their perception of the distribution of military power, and to whether or not they feel threatened by Russians and the East bloc."

The polls: the European peace movement and deployment of nuclear missiles. Public opinion quarterly, v. 49, spring 1985: 119-132.
Presents public opinion data from the United States and Western Europe "on the stationing of cruise missiles and Pershing II missiles in Europe, on the use of nuclear weapons, and on the peace movement and the anti-nuclear weapons demonstrations."

DeBriganti, Giovanni.
NATO's silent fleet: European submarine forces. Armed Forces journal international, v. 121, July 1984: 47-49, 51, 54, 59.
Surveys the submarine forces of Norway, France, Italy, Great Britain, West Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, and Spain.

DeCarmoy, Guy.
Defence and detente: two complementary policies. NATO review, v. 30, June 1982: 12-17.
Reviews Soviet and NATO military developments during the era of detente and considers the challenges the NATO alliance faces in the 1980s.

Defence and consensus: the domestic aspects of western security. Part I. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1983. 58 p. (Adelphi paper no. 182)
"The Papers presented here and in Adelphi Papers No. 183 and 184 were given at the Twenty-fourth Annual Conference of the IISS at Scheveningen, The Hague, The Netherlands in September 1982."

Contents.--Introduction, by C. Bertram.--Domestic consensus, security and the Western Alliance, by K. Biedenkopf.--Public opinion and the defence effort: trends and lessons, the United States, by L. Kaagan, and Europe, by R. Wildenmann.--The media and the making of defence policy: the US example, by J. Fromm.--The media and the image of defence policy: Europe, by L. Ruehl, and Japan, by M. Nishihara.--The management of defence expenditure, by F. Cooper.

Defence and consensus: the domestic aspects of western security. Part II. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1983. 42 p. (Adelphi paper no. 183)

"The Papers in this volume are devoted to the task of defining to what extent this lack of trust is justified, to what extent it is inherent in a doctrine of nuclear deterrence, and to what degree it may be remedied by more rational concepts for nuclear weapons."

Contents.--Introduction, by C. Bertram.--The critique of nuclear deterrence, by A. Roberts.--Domestic consensus and nuclear deterrence, by H. Brown.--Domestic concerns and nuclear doctrine: how should the nuclear posture be shaped? by J. Holst.

The Defence industry in NATO. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 30, Oct. 1985: whole issue (120 p.)

Contents.--Improvement of conventional capability, by H. Mack.--View from Rome, by A. Levi.--The French armaments industry, by E. Blanc.--Towards a European defence industry, by J. VanHouwelingen.--The transatlantic dialogue and the European defence industry, by W. Tebbe.--A resources strategy for NATO, by D. Abshire.--EH 101--European helicopter project, by D. Perry and G. Piovano.--Air command and control system, by J. Hartog.--Air-to-air missiles, by D. Lennox.--Weapon system Atlantique 2.

The Defence of Europe. Washington, Dept. of State [1983] 16 p.

"This booklet has set out in brief some of the facts and figures which demonstrate the European contribution. But it has also tried to describe some of the ways in which European allies, and specifically those who are members of the EUROGROUP, make an important and constructive contribution to stability and world peace. The defence of our freedom rests with NATO and NATO's strength lies not only in its military forces but in the unity of independent nations. The European members of NATO fully recognise how important it is that their contribution should be strong and should help the cohesion of the Alliance as a whole."

The Defense of small and medium-sized countries. Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University, Center for Strategic Studies; distributed by the Jerusalem Post, 1982. 58 p. (CSS paper no. 17)

Contents.--Constraints on the defense of a small country, by K. Knorr.--The future of militia armies in the face of military technological developments, by A. Roberts.--The National defense planning and decision-making process: the Swedish experience, by N. Gylden.--Problems in the formation of a concept of national defense in view of technological, economic and political constraints: the European experience, by P. Lellouche.

Defense planning for the 1990s and the changing international environment. Edited by William A. Buckingham, Jr. Washington, National Defense University Press, for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1984. 380 p.

Contents.--Introduction: defense planning for the 1990s and the changing international environment.--Vietnam and US policy in Southeast Asia: what steps toward normalization?--NATO in the 1990s.--Low-order violence in the international milieu.--America's foreign policy options in East Asia: the coming decade.--The United States and South Asia: India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

Degner, Juergen.

The security policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. Parameters, v. 15, summer 1985: 47-54.

"The German government states that the security requirements of the various nations may differ and that each country may react to certain problems from case to case in the light of national interests . . . . The underlying policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is thereby determined primarily by conditions that differ decisively from those of the other NATO members. This article will discuss these unique factors and show some areas of Germany's security policy that are as they are only because of these conditions."

Deibel, Terry L.
Hidden commitments. Foreign policy, no. 67, summer 1987: 46-63.
"Recent years have again seen administrations of both parties create a global network of security arrangements. Mainly based in the Third World, the new commitment of the Carter and Reagan administrations is fundamentally different from its predecessors' in both its geographic configuration and its functional design. But the Carter-Reagan network shares the basic motivation of containing the Soviet Union and even includes some familiar partners. And like all have important consequences for future American foreign policy."

DeLeon, Peter.
Emerging security considerations for NATO's Northern Flank. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 130, June 1985: 34-39.
"The Nordic nations are being enmeshed by exogenous phenomena--almost entirely in terms of the larger Soviet-American confrontation--that are seemingly well beyond their manipulation or control."

Delmas, Claude.
Terrorism and the open society. NATO review, v. 30, no. 5, 1982: 12-17.
"The Atlantic Alliance, Mr. Delmas suggests, is more concerned by the problem of terrorism than may at first seem the case because the fight against it is a fight for the survival of the open society, the existence of which has been safeguarded by the Alliance since its creation."

De Montbrial, Thierry.
The European dimension. Foreign affairs, v. 64, no. 3, 1986: 499-514.

Denitch, Bogdan.
Toward a sane defense policy. Dissent, v. 29, summer 1982: 273-281.
Critiques the Reagan administration's military policies. Emphasizes the need for a democratic foreign policy linked to clearly understood defense and arms control objectives.

DePorte, A. W.
The Altantic Alliance at 35. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1984. 64 p. (Headline series no. 268)
Contents.--The balance sheet.--The security of the North Atlantic area.--Grand strategy?--The Third World.--Economic relations.--The future.

NATO of the future: less is more. Fletcher forum, v. 7, winter 1983: 1-16.
DePorte provides a "restatement of the case for the Atlantic Alliance, arguing that its primary goals are being met and that the Alliance need not be threatened by occasional (and inevitable) disputes over non-central issues. Following a discussion of the various perceptions of what the Alliance should accomplish and how it has in fact responded, the author suggests that the Alliance will continue to perform very well if it is released from the burden of unwarranted expectations."

The North Atlantic alliance: external threats and internal stress. Naval War College review, v. 37, Nov.-Dec. 1984: 71-79.
"The Atlantic alliance has been a classical defensive alliance, but with several important differences. The members' perception of the Soviet threat and the success of their response to it, in continually changing circumstances, have been unprecedentedly durable. At the same time their relations with respect to both alliance and nonalliance policies have been remarkably turbulent."

DeRose, Francois.
Inflexible response. Foreign affairs, v. 61, fall 1982: 136-150.
The author, who served as France's Ambassador to NATO from 1970 to 1975, recommends an "across-the-board updating of NATO's current doctrine of deterrence and defense. Such an updating would be consistent with, indeed proceed from, the view that the Alliance should avoid at all costs putting itself in the position where it would have to resort to tactical nuclear weapons from the very first hours of conflict. At the same time it would rule out a formal commitment to no first use as militarily, morally and diplomatically wrong and self-defeating."

NATO's perils--and opportunities. Strategic review, v. 11, fall 1983: 19-26.

"The central danger for NATO implicit in current military trends . . . is that of Western capitulation in a crisis in the face of Soviet military superiority. The Alliance made itself all the more vulnerable to this offense by linking its own, necessary nuclear modernization plans to Soviet nuclear deployments . . . . The opportunity for NATO lies in harnessing its present . . . technological advantage to an enhanced conventional posture that can deny to the Soviets the principal incentive for initiating a war: namely, the prospect of a quick and decisive victory . . . . This opportunity calls for a European initiative."

Updating deterrence in Europe: inflexible response? Survival, v. 24, Jan.-Feb. 1982: 19-23.

The author suggests that the NATO doctrine of flexible response is no longer credible due to Soviet conventional superiority and Soviet build up of tactical nuclear forces. He "recommends that the doctrine of flexible response be modified; NATO should adopt the principle that, whatever the level of a Soviet nuclear attack against Europe, the response would immediately involve a nuclear strike against military targets on Soviet territory."

Derwinski, Edward J.

Budgetary resources and foreign policy. Washington, U.S. Dept. of State, 1987. 4 p. (Current policy no. 933)

In this statement before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee on Mar. 19, 1987, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology discusses the "security assistance components of the foreign assistance program."

Detente--whither? Trilateral-Soviet relations in transition. Trialogue, no. 25, winter 1980-81: whole issue.

Dettke, Dieter.

European options. NATO review, v. 29, Aug. 1981: 29-33.

Considers why proposals in Europe to form a political union with a military role have not worked and examines structural reasons which may prevent success in the future. Surveys Western European options, especially in the Middle East. Emphasizes that Europe needs more flexibility within the Atlantic Alliance to maximize its influence in the world.

Deutermann, P. T.

Requiem for the Sixth Fleet? United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 108, Sept. 1982: 46-49.

"The U.S. Sixth Fleet should be disestablished, and its mission taken over by a similar structure of European naval assets, bolstered in times of crisis by large concentrations of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet."

Dezcallar, Rafael.

On West European defense cooperation: a Spanish view. Washington quarterly, v. 10, winter 1987: 153-169.

"The aim of this paper is to examine the underlying conditions for the present Atlantic security system . . . . Analyzes some factors that should be considered in the European security system: the policies of some West European nations, the interests of the superpowers, and the slow emergence of a West European political identity."

Dick, C. J.

Catching NATO unawares: Soviet Army surprise and deception techniques. International defense review, v. 19, no. 1, 1986: 21-26.

The author analyzes the Soviet tactic of "quick victory" (Maskirovka) which he claims is their primary anti-NATO military strategy. He draws conclusions and offers specific recommendations.

Digby, James.

Modern weapons for non-NATO contingencies. [Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corporation] 1980. 15 p. (Rand Corporation. Paper P-6521)

The author presents "some general principles for forces designed to project power and suggest some useful directions for weapons development."

DiLorenzo, Mario.
Keeping supplies moving at times of crisis or war. NATO review, v. 31, Apr. 1983: 18-23.

DiLullo, Joseph G.
Sealift reinforcement of NATO. National defense, v. 67, Apr. 1983: 44-46, 48.
"Concern over NATO's loss of critical strategic warning time, the Warsaw Pact's conventional military buildup, and a shortage of U.S. naval resources to meet defense commitments simultaneously in the North Atlantic and the Pacific highlight the need for an assured NATO logistics system."

Dimitras, Panayote E.
Greece: a new danger. Foreign policy, no. 58, spring 1985: 134-150.
Claiming that Western optimism and confidence about Greece's pro-Western future is excessive, the author argues for immediate yet subtle Western response to the current tide of Greek anti-Westernism.

Dodd, Norman L.
Allied Forces Southern Europe. Army quarterly and defense journal, v. 114, Apr. 1984: 178-187.
Describes the military structure and posture of NATO's Allied Forces Southern Region (AFSOUTH) pinpointing major problems and stating that "for too long the focus of attention has been on the Central Front of NATO whereas it is more likely that a situation which can lead to war will take place far away from there."

NATO in disarray. Army quarterly and defence journal, v. 3, July 1981: 288-29.
"The NATO Alliance is in disarray. There are two principal reasons for this; the first is that the Soviet Union has outmanoeuvred . . . [NATO nations] both psychologically and geographically; and the second is the growing strength of the Soviet inspired anti-nuclear lobby in Europe, and the consequent increasingly pacifist outlook of many of the voters."

NATO looks outwards. Navy international, v. 86, Oct. 1981: 608-612.
Emphasizes the need for NATO countries to show their solidarity and provide some deterrent outside the strictly defined NATO area. Surveys the origins, objectives, and capabilities of the Allied Command Europe Mobile Force; the Standing Naval Force, Atlantic; the Standing Naval Force, Channel; and the Oncall Naval Force, Mediterranean. Reviews plans for the NATO Early Warning Force. Suggests that all these standing forces have applications outside the strictly defined NATO area.

Doerfel, Steve.
Meeting the strategic challenge. International defense review, v. 17, no. 17, 1984: 251-255.
"The OMG . . . appears to be the Soviet approach to the avoidance of tactical nuclear conflict. It is . . . designed to reduce risk, perfect conventional capabilities . . . . By penetrating the forward defense and striking nuclear and chemical storage . . . before NATO can act . . . the Soviets would be forcing the issue in their favour." The author explores this premise of Col. Hanne expounded in a previous article.

Domke, William K. Eichenberg, Richard C. Kelleher, Catherine M.
Consensus lost? Domestic politics and the "crisis" in NATO. World politics, v. 39, Apr. 1987: 382-407.
"The purpose of this essay is to present further data on the degree of domestic cleavage on security issues within NATO countries, and to attempt an explanation of these cleavages. The essay includes a summary of research on public and elite opinion in the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, and the Netherlands."

Donald, Gordon, Jr.
U.S. foreign aid and the national interest. [Washington] National Planning Association [1983] 28 p. (CIR report no. 12 NPA report no. 199)

Donnelly, C. N.
The Soviet operational manoeuvre group: a new challenge for NATO. International defense review, v. 15, no. 9, 1982: 1177-1186.
Examines one of the Soviet new operational concepts--Operational Manoeuvre Group (OMG). It is a concept of the very greatest importance, designed specifically to defeat present NATO defensive plans."

Donnelly, Christopher.
The development of the Soviet concept of echeloning. NATO review, v. 32, Dec. 1984: 9-17.
The author reviews "the Soviet concept of echeloning so as to understand better what is driving the Soviet reassessment, where it might be leading, and what its implications are for NATO."

Dorfer, Ingemar.
Scandinavia and NATO: a la carte. Washington quarterly, v. 9, winter 1986: 15-30.
Examines Scandinavian policies regarding NATO membership, nuclear weapons, and other issues.

Doty, Paul.
A nuclear test ban. Foreign affairs, v. 65, spring 1987: 750-769.
"At issue is whether the single, radical step of ending all nuclear weapons testing, is the best route to stopping the qualitative strategic arms race . . . . Are there more promising ways of restraining testing than its total elimination? In addressing this last question the author examines the essential issues in the current debate and analyzes current approaches."

Dougherty, James E. Pfaltzgraff, Diane.
Eurocommunism and the Atlantic Alliance. Cambridge, Mass., Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1977. 66 p.

Douglass, Joseph D.
NATO theater nuclear modernization. International security review, v. 5, spring 1980: 57-71.
"The Soviets expect that a war in Europe almost surely will become nuclear. They appear very serious in their plans to use nuclear weapons. . . . If NATO is to deter the Soviets, it must be equally serious."

Downie, Leonard, Jr.
Ban the bomb: growing protest movement seeks neutral 'calm space'. Washington post, Nov. 17, 1981: A1, A27.
"The nuclear pacifists have suddenly become significant political forces in West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, Britain and other countries."

Draper, Theodore.
Nuclear temptations. New York review of books, v. 30, Jan. 19, 1984: 42-50.
The author discusses what he considers to be the chief danger or threat of atomic warfare--"nuclear temptations"--temptations to use nuclear weapons intimately related in "options" and "escalation" and "the ultimate temptation the indoctrination in the feasibility of some kind of nuclear war."

The Western misalliance. Washington quarterly, v. 4, winter 1981: 13-69.
"The crisis of the 'alliance' is an old story. What is new about the present crisis is the turnabout in the relationship between the United States and its allies. The crisis in the past was mainly about the reliability of the American commitment to come to the aid of Western Europe. The crisis in the present is about the reliability of an assumed commitment by Western Europe to come to the aid of the United States."

Drath, Viola Herms.
German-American relations in transition: from junior partner to competitor. Global affairs, v. 2, summer 1987: 119-131.

Drifting together or apart?: U.S.-European relations in the Paul-Henri Spaak lectures, Harvard University, 1981-1984. Edited by Richard C. Eichenberg. [Cambridge, Mass.] Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Lanham, Md., University Press of America, c1986.
This book will be available later in 1987.

Dror, Yehezkel.
The politics of defense allocations in Western Europe. Public budgeting & finance, v. 3, spring 1983: 3-22.
"This article discusses some features of the politics of defense allocations in Western Europe as a case of budgeting under conditions of diminishing capacity to govern, coupled with harsher constraints on public expenditures."

Dutch decision on cruise missiles. Survival, v. 28, Mar.-Apr. 1986: 174-176.
"In December 1979, the Netherlands government joined in the NATO dual-track decision on Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCM) in Europe but postponed its decision on whether to participate in the basing programme . . . . The government on 1 June 1984 announced a plan for proceeding with GLCM deployments . . . . On 1 November 1985, Cabinet reached a decision to deploy cruise missiles while reducing the country's nuclear tasks."

The Dutch. Wilson quarterly, v. 11, spring 1987: 52-85.
Contents.--Beyond perfection, by Thomas R. Rochon.--The independent ally, by Stanley R. Sloan.--Background books.

Dyer, Philip W.
The moral dimensions of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Parameters, v. 10, June 1980: 44-50.
"The US may find itself having to use these weapons first, thus raising more serious moral questions than would be offered by a strategic exchange in which its use of the weapons would be in retaliation to a Soviet first use of such weapons . . . . It therefore becomes essential that the US, after appropriate consultation with its NATO allies, take the initiative in arranging with the Soviets negotiations aimed at a mutual withdrawal of Tactical Nuclear Weapons from Europe."

East-West troop reductions in Europe: is agreement possible?; report prepared by Congressional Research Service, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, for the Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives. Washington, G.P.O., 1983. 42 p.
At head of title: 98th Congress, 1st session, committee print.

Eberstadt, Nick.
The perversion of foreign aid. Commentary, v. 79, June 1985: 19-33.
"The failures of American aid policies in recent decades are a reflection not on the soundness of the conceptions that originally brought these policies to life but rather on the degree to which current practice has become divorced from original purpose. America's foreign-aid policies today stand in contradistinction to the thrust and purpose of America's overall foreign policy, and to the values and ideals of the American people."

Eberwein, Wolf-Dieter.
Germany's security policy options from the elite perspective: some implications. Air University review, v. 34, Mar.-Apr. 1983: 17-22.
"This present discussion focuses on the question of the security policy options perceived by the German security policy elite: How does the German elite perceive its security needs and its present threats and evaluate the importance of the alliance? Furthermore, what options does this country have to enhance its security?"

Edwards, Mickey.
Foreign assistance and foreign policy. Washington, Heritage Foundation [1987] 5 p. (Heritage lectures, no. 101)
Congressman Edwards argues that some foreign aid is essential, but that much of current program is wasteful or counterproductive and there is need for a new and more rational program for this element of U.S. foreign policy.

Eggleston, Roland.
Why NATO wants compulsory notification of maneuvers. [New York] Radio Liberty Research, 1985. 3 p.
"RL 77/85, Mar. 6, 1985"
"NATO . . . has introduced detailed proposals at the Stockholm Security Conference for compulsory advance notification of military exercises in Europe."

Egilsson, Olafur.
An unarmed nation joins a defence alliance: Iceland as a founder member of NATO. NATO review, v. 31, Apr. 1983: 24-31.

"Iceland, which had only recently regained its independence, had long pursued a policy of neutrality. It had no armed forces and had no intention of creating any. Yet by early 1949, it concluded that membership was the most logical option."

Eichenberg, Richard C.
The myth of Hollanditis. International security, v. 8, fall 1983: 143-159.

"Examines the balance among competing traditions in Dutch foreign and security policy by reviewing public opinion polls on a variety of important security issues. A review of opinion polls shows that the current Dutch consensus is more pragmatist than pacifist. What appears to be unique about the Dutch case is . . . the comparatively strong impact that opinions have had on Dutch governments."

Else, Daniel H.
America's history: its future and the NATO alliance. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 131, Dec. 1986: 51-56.

"The importance of NATO to American security is examined, and the changes to NATO and to the United States itself over the last four decades are discussed. Finally, the paper looks at how America's future will likely affect the make-up of its premier alliance."

Ending the Alliance: opposing views. Journal of contemporary studies, v. 6, summer 1983: 5-31, 33-46.

Contents.--Ending the Alliance, by C. Layne.--Reply: the illusions of "Realpolitik," by L. Schultz.

Engle, Kenneth W.
European arms control negotiations: prospects for a "window" in the 1980s. Air University review, v. 32, Sept.-Oct. 1981: 31-39.

Epstein, Joshua M.
On conventional deterrence in Europe: questions of Soviet confidence. Orbis, v. 26, spring 1982: 71-86.

Discusses the trend toward convergence of doctrine and capability in Soviet conventional force modernization. Examines problems of military effectiveness which may result from Soviet military training methods and decision making patterns. Considers the incentives these operational limitations may create for the Soviets and the implications they may have for NATO countries.

Europe in search of a missile equilibrium. [Munich] Radio Free Europe, 1981. 10 p. (Radio Free Europe. Research RAD background report/124 (East-West))

"The East-West debate on 'Euromissiles' was elicited by the positioning of new, mobile medium-range missiles, code-named SS 20s, in the European part of the Soviet Union. This paper gives a short 'history' of the SS 20s, then it describes the Soviet and Western positions on how a missile equilibrium should be established."

European nuclear disarmament (END): pro and con. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 10, Dec. 1981: 38-46.

European security and the Atlantic system. Edited by William T. R. Fox and Warner R. Schilling. New York, Columbia University Press, 1973. 276 p.

European Security Study.
Strengthening conventional deterrence in Europe: a program for the 1980s; European Security Study report of the special panel: ESECS II. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1985. 150 p.

Strengthening conventional deterrence in Europe: proposals for the 1980s. New York, St. Martin's Press [1983] 35 p.

Contents.--The need for stronger conventional capabilities for deterrence and reassurance.--The nature of the Soviet conventional military threat.--The specific requirements for effective NATO conventional defense.--The means for enhancing NATO's conventional defensive capability.--Summary of conclusions.

"European/American relations: divergent attitudes?" Theme of 27th annual assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association, London, Sept. 29-Oct. 2, 1981. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, winter 1981-82: 395-428.
Contents.--Security vis-a-vis the USSR is not divisible, by H. Sonnenfeldt.--An American view of military relations, by R. Dougherty.--A European view of military relations, by N. Haagerup.

Europe's futures, Europe's choices: models of Western Europe in the 1970s. Edited by Alastair Buchan. London, Chatto & Windus for the Institute for Strategic Studies, 1969. 167 p.

Europe's peace movement: time bomb for U.S.? U.S. news & world report, v. 91, Nov. 9, 1981: 23-25.
A brief survey of a pacifist movement sweeping across Allied Europe.

Evolving European defense policies. Edited by Catherine M. Kelleher and Gale A. Mattox. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, c1987. 340 p.

Exit from NATO. National review, v. 38, Dec. 19, 1986: 32-37, 40.
Contents.--Losing ground in Europe, by Tom Bethell.--The Fulda gap is not on the Laffer curve, by Richard Brookhiser.

Farley, Phillip J. Kaplan, Stephen S. Lewis, William H.
Arms across the sea. Washington, Brookings Institution [c1978] 134 p.
"This study assesses U.S. policy toward the international trade in arms. Dealing with military assistance, government and commerical sales, and technological contributions to foreign production capabilities, the authors suggest how each might be used to promote the interests of the United States and international security. In the belief that U.S. withdrawal from the arms trade would do nothing to reduce its intensity, they argue for discriminating judgment and selectivity in decisions by U.S. officials."

Farringdon, Hugh.
Confrontation: the strategic geography of NATO and the Warsaw Pack. London, New York, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986. 354 p.

Farrar-Hockley, Anthony.
Dynamic defence: the northern flank. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 128, Dec. 1983: 5-11.
A brief look at the role of Norway, Denmark, and West Germany in NATO's northern flank.

The influence of the Northern Flank upon the mastery of the seas. Naval War College review, v. 35, May-June 1982: 4-14.
Considers the Soviet potential for offensive action in northern Europe and NATO's chances for defense.

Fedder, Edwin H.
NATO: the dynamics of alliance in the postwar world. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1973. 155 p.

The Federal Republic of Germany in the 1980s: foreign policies and domestic changes. New York, German Information Center, 1983. 60 p.
Contents.--An introduction to the Federal Republic in the 1980s, by R. Livingston.--The Federal Republic and NATO: change and continuity, by C. Kelleher.--Intra-German relations: the view from Bonn, by G. Stent.--The new generation: protest and postmaterialism, by S. Szabo.--The 1983 national elections: three winners and a loser, by R. Livingston.

Feld, Werner J.
Arms control and the Atlantic community. New York, Praeger, 1987.
This book is forthcoming in 1987.

The interface between East-West relations and the North-South dimension, by Werner J. Feld and Robert S. Jordan. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 21, winter 1983-84: 346-355.

Explores the effect of the North-South dimension on the East-West relationship. "It may be hypothesized that the greater the political and economic support of Third World countries for either the Western or the Eastern bloc the more benefits either side would derive from the North-South dimension. Conversely, high levels of determined opposition by the Third World to major objectives of the Western or Eastern bloc, or persistent negative images of either bloc by the elites or informed publics in the developing countries, would be damaging."

NATO and the Atlantic defense: perceptions and illusions, by Werner J. Feldman and John K. Wildgen. New York, Praeger, 1982. 171 p.

Feldman, Jan.
Collaborative production of defense equipment within NATO. Journal of strategic studies, v. 7, Sept. 1984: 282-300.
"NATO is composed of countries which are military allies and economic competitors. This makes the production and procurement of military equipment fundamentally a political, rather than simply a military or engineering problem as it is treated by the US Defense Department and the military services. Collaborative production of weapons within NATO, under the banner of 'Rationalization, Standardization and Interoperability' (RSI), has been official policy for accomplishing not only the militarily desirable goal of standardizing equipment and harmlonizing logistical procedures, but also the politically desirable goal of alliance solidarity, which is in short supply these days."

Fighting allies: tensions within the Atlantic Alliance. Edited by Walter Goldstein. London, Washington, Brassley's Defence Publishers, 1986. 235 p.

First-use of nuclear weapons. F.A.S. public interest report, v. 37, Nov. 1984: 1-12.
Describes "what consultation and vetoes over first-use would exist already in the NATO alliance."

Fish, Howard M.
Security assistance in perspective. College Park, Center for Philosophy and Public Policy, University of Maryland 1978. 15 l. (Maryland. University. Center for Philosophy and Public Policy. Working paper HRFP-4)
Provides perspective on security assistance as a U.S. foreign policy tool.

Fitz-Simons, Daniel.
Soviet interest in the Caribbean: looking for more than fun in the sun. Journal of defense & diplomacy, v. 5, no. 7, 1987: 42-47.
"The growing Soviet presence in Nicaragua, the guerrilla insurrection in El Salvador and the potential for instability in Panama, Guatemala and Mexico have already forced the United States to divert military resources to Central America. Thus the North Atlantic Treaty Organization can no longer operate on the assumption that its southern flank is safely anchored."

Flor, Roland.
Major exercises of NATO and Warsaw Pact land forces in Europe, 1984--a comparative analysis. Defense analysis, v. 2, Sept. 1986: 191-204.
"The findings presented here may certainly be known better by the military and government establishments concerned, but to the general public they may equally be illuminating. It is also based on--certainly incomplete--open literature only, with consequent information gaps."

Flume, Wolfgang.
Military assistance within the Alliance. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 29, Sept.-Oct. 1984: 54, 57, 59-60, 62-63.
"The military aid programmes to the economically lesser developed countries in the Alliance--Greece, Portugal, Turkey, and to some extent Spain--is given individually by some NATO nations, and not by others. It is sporadic, uncoordinated and one-sided. Wolfgang Flume has an original proposal: to make it an Alliance programme contributed to by all member nations."

Flynn, Gregory.
Public opinion and Atlantic defence. NATO review, v. 31, no. 5, 1983: 4-11.
"Do recent shifts in public opinion require fundamental changes in Western strategy? Does the nuclear protest movement spring from greater popular involvement in security policy? Would a greater understanding of the Soviet threat necessarily lead to increased acceptance of Allied policies? These and other questions are considered by Mr. Flynn on the basis of a research project conducted by the Institute in collaboration with the Atlantic Treaty Association when detailed, comparative public opinion profiles were prepared for seven Allied countries. A team of specialized social scientists from each of these countries studied data available from the past decade in an attempt to determine underlying trends in popular attitudes towards Western security needs and policies."

Folly, Martin H.
Britain and the issue of Italian membership in NATO, 1948-49. Review of international studies, v. 13, July 1987: 177-186.

Foot, Peter.
Defence burden-sharing in the Atlantic Community 1945-1954. Aberdeen, Scot., Centre for Defence Studies, University of Aberdeen, 1981. 60 p. (Aberdeen Studies in Defence Economics. ASIDES no. 20)

Problems of equity in alliance arrangements. Aberdeen, Centre for Defence Studies, 1982. 43 p. (Aberdeen studies in defence economics no. 23)
"This essay . . . is not simply an account of that intra-Allied wrangling about fair shares . . . . Rather it is an analysis . . . of the fundamental problem of equity in Alliance arrangements, which is what has given rise to all the disagreement."

Foreign policy priorities for the President: toward a future agenda. [Washington] American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1980. 27 p. (AEI foreign policy and defense review, v. 2, no. 5)
"The future effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy may be influenced more by this--call it the president's foreign policy agenda--than by the substance of specific policies. Essays in this issue by seven distinguished scholars testify to the difficulty of developing an agenda on which all can agree. Our contributors were asked to examine the range of foreign policy issues."
Contents.--The trilemma of U.S. foreign policy, by S. Brown.--"A time to every purpose": some foreign policy requisites, by B. Cohen.--Foreign policy begins at home, by I. Destler.--Economic stresses in the NATO alliance, by D. Hall.--Foreign policy issues and the 1980 election: context, hopes, and fears, by O. Holsti.--Priorities for the Presidential campaign and the Presidency, by E. Kolodziej.--Latin American and Caribbean issues: 1980, by B. Stephansky.

Foreign Policy Research Institute.
The three per cent solution and the future of NATO, by the staff of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. Philadelphia, Pa., 1981. 118 p. (Western security studies program)

Foster, Charles R.
The Atlantic alliance: new directions under Reagan?, by Charles R. Foster and Richard Albright. Foreign Service journal, v. 58, June 1981: 18-21.
"As Henry Kissinger once noted, every new president talks about improving Atlantic relations, but few succeed. What will Reagan do?"

Political-military factors in the Atlantic relationship: outlook under Reagan. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, fall 1981: 304-311.
Reviews U.S. and Western European perspectives on strategic deterrence, detente, arms control, and defense postures. Briefly surveys political problems facing the NATO alliance.

Fox, William T. R. Fox, Annette B.
NATO and the range of American choice. New York, Columbia University Press, 1967. 352 p.
"Sponsored by the Institute of War and Peace Studies of Columbia University."

Frank, Andre Gunder.
From Atlantic Alliance to Pan-European entente: political economic alternatives. Alternatives, v. 8, spring 1983: 423-482.

Examines emerging strains in the Atlantic Alliance and in the Warsaw Pact in light of current world economic and political issues. Assesses various alternatives conditions put forward for their resolution. Concludes that East-West problems offer an opportunity to forge a new multipolar balance of power featuring a possible Pan-European political and economic entente.

Freedman, Lawrence.
The Atlantic crisis. International affairs, v. 58, summer 1982: 395-412.
The author argues that NATO countries "must move beyond the recognition that the security problem involves more than the Soviet military threat to Central Europe. The economic dimensions to the problem must also be acknowledged. Otherwise there is a risk that attempts to deal with the dissatisfaction in Western Europe (and increasingly in the United States) with the nuclear bias in NATO stragegy, or to develop an effective diplomacy towards the Third World will falter through a lack of funds to support them or get caught up in the spillover from arguments on trade or monetary issues."

Defence with a split in mind. New statesman, v. 100, Oct. 17, 1980: 10.
The author posits a fundamental question of British defense policy: "Is our [British] defence effort designed to strengthen an essentially conventional European defensive structure, or is it meant to provide a staging-post for a possible movement of US forces? The two aims are no longer compatible."

The dilemma of theatre nuclear arms control. Survival, v. 23, Jan.-Feb. 1981: 2-10.
Reviews the evolution of NATO's position on arms control negotiations for nuclear weapons based in Europe. Surveys Soviet attitudes towards such negotiations and Soviet deployments in the Western Military Districts facing Europe. Outlines negotiating approaches and assesses prospects for agreement. Recommends that discussions on theatre nuclear systems be merged with the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

Limited war, unlimited protest. Orbis, v. 26, spring 1982: 89-103.
"The political opposition within Europe to NATO's program of long-range theater-nuclear force (LRTNF) modernization has become extremely vociferous and active . . . . The protest campaign has already had a profound effect on European politics . . . . The campaign has also had a marked effect on intra-alliance relations . . . . The movement has stimulated a public debate about both the specific horrors of nuclear war and the state of European security in general."

NATO myths. Foreign policy, no. 45, winter 1981-82: 48-68.
Reviews NATO's strategy of flexible response and its weaknesses. Surveys the antinuclear weapons movement in Europe, and probes the extent to which debates over nuclear strategy increase divisiveness within the alliance. Advocates less emphasis on nuclear strategy, and a new approach to the design and deployment of conventional forces.

The price of peace: living with the nuclear dilemma. New York, Holt, c1986. 288 p.

Freeman, Waldo D., Jr.
NATO central region forward defense: correcting the strategy/force mismatch. Washington, National Defense University, 1981. 31 p. (National Security Affairs issue paper no. 81-3)
"Addresses NATO Central Region conventional inferiority and its implications for strategy. It argues that alternative solutions must be found."
Partial contents.--The strategy/force mismatch.--Precision-guided munitions.--Force structure improvements.--Fortifications, barriers, and obstacles.--Defensive use of urban areas.--Correcting the mismatch.

French security issues: a symposium. [Washington] American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1982] 48 p. (AEI foreign policy and defense review, v. 4, no. 1)

Partial contents.--The politics of defense and foreign policy in France, by D. Moisi.--The odd couple, by P. Lellouche.--Political and military background for France's intervention capability, by G. Wittman.--The new weaponry revolution and NATO, by P. Gallois.--The relationship of France with NATO, by F. de Rose.--The politics of French security policy, by A. DePorte and H. DeSantis.--Arms control and security in Europe: France's role, by J. Huntzinger.--Analysis and perspective: socialist France in East-West relations, by P. Fontaine.--French defense: an American appreciation, by J. Kelly.

Friedman, Norman.
Naval air defence for NATO. Naval forces, v. 1, 1980: 58-60, 62-64.
"A review of the air defences available to NATO against various possible forms of Soviet air and missile attack. The author points out that in waters close to the Soviet Union, NATO warships will have to depend either upon U.S. carrier support, or else upon long range land based fighters."

Western European and NATO navies. United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 110, Mar. 1984: 35-43.
Briefly reviews issues affecting naval developments in Western Europe including NATO doctrine, the Soviet threat, European interest in mine countermeasures, economic difficulties facing European shipbuilding industries, and naval involvement in tasks such as fishery patrol. Briefly surveys naval developments in Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The Front line in Europe. Armed Forces journal international, v. 121, May 1984: 27-28, 32-34, 36-37, 40-42, 45-50, 52, 54-58, 61, 64-65, 68, 71, 74, 77.
Beginning with a foreword by Benjamin Schemmer which critizes "NATO-basing, the newest craze in Washington," the following 2 articles provide a country-by-country armed forces analysis and an in-depth explanation of the strategy of forward defense. Graphs, charts and maps included.
Contents.--The forces: national contributions, by D. Palmer.--The strategy: in defense of forward defense, by P. Karber.

Frost, Ellen L. Stent, Angela E.
NATO's troubles with East-West trade. International security, v. 8, summer 1983: 179-200.
Argues the NATO "alliance should thus move toward a two-track East-West trade policy, combining long-term predictability with short-term flexibility, so that the West can agree on continuity in the major security-related aspects of trade while reserving some instruments of commerce to respond to short-term political developments."

The Future of European alliance systems: NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Edited by Arlene Idol Broadhurst. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1982. 316 p.

The Future of Soviet policy toward Western Europe. Edited by Harry Gelman. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand [1985] 204 p.
"Papers presented at an international conference held in Ebenhausen, West Germany, Oct. 26-28, 1984, under the auspices of the Rand Corporation, the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, and the Institut francais des relations internationales., "Prepared for the Ford Foundation [and] the North Atlantic Treaty Organization." , "September 1985." , "R-3254-FF/NATO.""

Galen, Justin.
Theater nuclear weapons and the crisis in Europe's leadership. Armed Forces journal international, v. 119, Nov. 1981: 42-43, 46-48.
A former senior Department of Defense civilian official, writing under a pen name, provides an American view on U.S.-West European relations, as affected by plans to increase NATO tactical nuclear force deployments in Europe.

Gallis, Paul.
The NATO allies, Japan and the Persian Gulf. Congressional Research Service review, v. 6, Feb. 1985: 5-6.

"Most of the United States' NATO allies heavily depend upon the Persian Gulf for petroleum supplies. A number have also developed extensive trade contacts with Iran or Iraq, as well as with other states in the region. In addition, Japan imports a significant amount of its petroleum from the Gulf. A disruption of the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf could pose a serious economic and strategic threat to members of the alliance and to Japan. The United States and its allies, however, differ in important ways over how to respond to such a threat."

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Prospects for an INF accord: NATO's troubled response. Congressional Research Service review, v. 8, June 1987: 3-6.

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Strategic Defense Initiative and United States alliance strategy, by Paul E. Gallis, Mark M. Lowenthal, and Marcia S. Smith. Congressional Research Service review, v. 6, June 1985: 8-9.

Outlines the attitude of Japan and our European allies towards the SDI research program. Discusses the effects which a deployed ballistic missile defense could have on Warsaw Pact and NATO strategy.

Gallois, Pierre.

The Kola Peninsula and its strategic importance: Northern Norway target for the Soviet Union. Journal of defense & diplomacy, v. 4, Sept. 1986: 38-41.

"Material superiority still does not overshadow the perils the Soviet Union would have to encounter to force such a frontier realignment," by taking over almost 25,000 square kilometers of Norwegian territory.

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The Soviet global threat and the West. Orbis, v. 25, fall 1981: 649-662.

"While the European countries of NATO are thus mounting a guard that has now become ridiculous in face of the Soviet arms, and while these same countries are called upon by the United States to increase still further their expenditure on conventional arms vulnerable to the Soviet missiles, the Soviet Union is getting nearer to the sources of energy supplies, the free availability of which is essential to the liberal industrial societies, and is also, through intermediate political regimes, laying hands on vast territories where these same industrial powers purchase the raw materials without which their economies would be paralyzed."

Garcia, Robert.

The Atlantic Alliance and the successor generation. NATO review, v. 34, Apr. 1986: 22-27.

Congressman discusses the role of the Atlantic Alliance and considers the need for continued support of the Alliance.

Garden, Timothy.

Strengthening conventional deterrence: bright idea or dangerous illusion? RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institutes for Defence Services], v. 129, Sept. 1984: 32-37.

"Those who argue for investment in strengthening conventional deterrence wish to see more credible options available for holding a Warsaw Pact attack below the nuclear level." The author illustrates the difficulties associated with other more complex option by discussing one--counter-air-operations: with Tornado GRI with JP233 system, with area denial mines and runway penetrators.

Garfinkle, Adam M.

The "INF" arena after Reykjavik: a broader U.S. approach? Strategic review, v. 14, fall 1986: 27-36.

"There is the danger, in the wake of Reykjavik, that negotiations pressures will lead to a separate U.S.-Soviet agreement on so-called intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Europe . . . . The United States is prudent in driving for INF reductions as close to 'zero-zero' as possible. Yet such an agreement must embrace on the Soviet side not only SS-20 missiles, but the other modernized systems . . . . Above all, the United States' approach must be keenly sensitive to the imperatives of the conventional force balance in Europe."

Garner, William V.

Soviet threat perceptions of NATO's Eurostrategic missiles. Paris, Atlantic Institute for International Affairs, 1983. 133 p. (Atlantic papers no. 52-53)

Contents.--Soviet threat portrayals.--Evaluating Soviet threat portrayals.--Soviet military doctrine and the INF threat.--Soviet political-military interests at the INF negotiations.--Conclusion.

Garnham, David.
Extending deterrence with German nuclear weapons. International security, v. 10, summer 1985: 96-110.

"Because of its exposed geographical position and economic importance, West Germany is the principal territory that American deterrence must be extended to protect . . . . A German deterrent would reinforce European security while reducing threats to American security," argues the author.

Garrett, James M.
The ambiguous roles of intermediate range theater nuclear forces. Journal of strategic studies, v. 8, Sept. 1985: 260-283.

"This analysis considers only the roles, missions and capabilities of NATO's INFs, old and new."

Conventional force deterrence in the presence of theater nuclear weapons. Armed Forces & society, v. 11, fall 1984: 59-83.

"To provide reasonable security acceptable to Western Europe, NATO's conventional deterrent must be credible in both West and East. If Pact leaders are not convinced by NATO's attempts to deter conventional attack, Western Europe faces twin dangers of conquest and nuclear war. If NATO loses courage through lack of faith in its own deterrents, the Pact can dictate terms of settlement in a future crisis or blackmail West Europeans at will. Today there is considerable doubt that NATO conventional forces either deter the Pact convincingly or reassure Western Europe."

Garten, Jeffrey E.
Aid in the eighties. New York times magazine, Mar. 25, 1984: 70, 72-75.

Garthoff, Raymond L.
The NATO decision on theater nuclear forces. Political science quarterly, v. 98, summer 1983: 197-214.

"The process of reaching the decision to deploy new long-range theater nuclear forces (LRTNF), as will be shown, involved complex internal dynamics of domestic and alliance politics at least as much as considerations of military requirements vis-a-vis the Soviet Unilon and Warsaw Pacts."

Gelb, Norman.
Strains in the alliance: Reagan rattles the West. New leader, v. 69, Nov. 17, 1986: 4-5.

"Long before they learned of Reagan's problems with aides, Europeans marveled at how, despite his limited gap of the facts of international politics, the President retained the trust of the American people."

Gellner, John.
The defence of Canada: requirements, capabilities, and the national will. Toronto, Canada, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1985. 17 p. (Behind the headlines, v. 41, no. 3)

"What is lacking, on the one hand, is an understanding among the wider public of Canada's security problems and consequent defence requirements, and, on the other hand, a readiness among the cognoscenti to engage in independent strategic thinking that would lead to national solutions to these problems", argues the author.

Genscher, Hans-Dietrich.
Toward an overall Western strategy for peace, freedom and progress. Foreign affairs, v. 61, fall 1982: 42-66.

The Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany and leader of the Free Democratic Party discusses NATO's political and economic policies. He contends: "once we are aware of the difference betwe n the European and American concepts of 'detente,' it should be possible, from this basic perception, to develop a long-term overall Alliance policy toward the East that draws common conclusions from the experience in the 1970s and provides a joint response to the challenges of the 1980s. Four fields are involved: arms control and disarmament, economic relations with the East, human rights and in this context especially the policy toward Eastern Europe, and policy toward the Third World."

Gentles, R. G.
The Rogers Plan: a new direction for NATO? Canadian defense quarterly, v. 13, autumn 1983: 15, 18, 20, 22-23.
"The Rogers Plan holds the promise of giving the Alliance a credible conventional deterrent that will appreciably lessen the likelihood of nuclear war. It deserves active support in Canada."

George, Alexander L.
Presidential decisionmaking in foreign policy: the effective use of information and advice. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press [1980] 267 p. (Westview special studies in international relations)

George, Bruce. Lindsley, Ian.
The re-evaluation of Italian defence policy. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 130, Dec. 1985: 41-47.
"Since the mid-1970s Italy has been reviewing its defence policy in structural and strategic terms under the influence of heightened public interest in defence and changing threats to its national security. In the last ten years successive governments have attempted to depart from post-war political and public indifference to defence policy and foreign affairs, and enhance Italy's position within the Western Alliance."

George, James L.
INF. U.S. Naval Institute proceedings, v. 113, June 1987: 35-39.
"U.S. theater nuclear weapons have helped keep the peace for more than 40 years. If an INF agreement eliminates them, only Intermediate Navy Nuclear Forces can plug the gap to deter the Soviets and keep the peace."

The German peace movement. Telos, no. 56, summer 1983: 119-192.
Partial contents.--Neo-nationalism and the West German peace movement's reaction to the Polish military coup, by S. Meuschel.--The 'double decision' makes sense--but for whom? A reply to Herf, by W. Suss and M. Lucas.--The double decision still makes sense: a response to my critics, by J. Herf.--Between fundamental opposition and Realpolitik: perspectives for an alternative Parliamentarism, by J. Hirsch.--One nation, one reich, one peace, by W. Pohrt.

German, Robert K.
Norway and the bear: Soviet coercive diplomacy and Norwegian security policy. International security, v. 7, fall 1982: 55-82.
"An examination of Soviet attempts to exploit the restrictions Norway has imposed upon its own defense activities highlights the Soviet Union's long-range objectives for the Nordic area and illustrates its methods for seeking to influence the policy decisions of small neighbors . . . . There are common elements which will become recognizable from a review of the Norwegian case: pursuing long-range objectives patiently and persistently; applying alternating waves of threat, cajolery, and blandishment; supplementing diplomatic pressures with propaganda efforts to stimulate domestic pressures on governments; and using the unilateral concessions of its neighbors as levers for obtaining still more concessions from them."

Nuclear-free zones: Norwegian interest, Soviet encouragement. Orbis, v. 26, summer 1982: 451-476.
Examines the Nordic nuclear-free-zone proposal in light of Soviet-Norwegian relations and the Norwegian debate concerning nuclear weapons.

Germany debates defense: the NATO Alliance at the crossroads. Edited by Rudolf Steinke and Michael Vale. Armonk, N.Y., published in collaboration with the Committee for a Nuclear-Free Europe [by] M.E. Sharpe, c1983. 208 p.

Germany: keystone to European security: a symposium. AEI foreign policy and defense review, v. 4, no. 3-4, 1983: whole issue.

Gessert, Robert A.
The airland battle and NATO's new doctrinal debate. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 129, June 1984: 52-60.

Gilbert, Joseph.
Theatre nuclear weapons--myths and realities. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 28, Dec. 1983-Jan. 1984: 28-30.

Giuffrida, Louis O.
Effecting cooperation within NATO on civil emergency plans. Defense management journal, v. 20, 1984: 14-17.
"Successful national defense hinges on population survival and industrial mobilization. In the U.S., civil preparedness responsibility rests largely with the Federal Emergency Management Agency . . . . As NATO partners, the United States and its allies are taking steps to ensure a coordinated response to national and international disasters. This article highlights those initiatives as well as other defense-related efforts in FEMA."

Goetz, Bernd A.
Security in Europe: a crisis of confidence: a study of military security and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as a political instrument for enhancing confidence and stability in Europe. New York, Praeger, 1984. 225 p.

Golden, James R.
The dynamics of change in NATO: a burden-sharing perspective. New York, Praeger, 1983. 229 p.

NATO burden-sharing: risks and opportunities. New York, Praeger, 1983. 103 p. (Washington papers, v. 10, 96)
Published with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
Contents.--NATO: a period of readjustment.--The difficulty of measuring equity.--Dividing the NATO pie--or making it bigger.--Germany's role: the problems of change.--Defense and negotiation.

Goldsborough, James O.
The roots of Western disunity. New York times magazine, May 9, 1982: 48-50, 52, 54, 58-60, 62.
"The discord between America and Western Europe on the problems besetting NATO and the world may be traced to an ethical schism," contends the author.

Goldstein, Walter.
The opportunity costs of acting as a super power: U.S. military strategy in the 1980s. Journal of peace research, v. 18, no. 3, 1981: 241-260.
Considers the economic effects of a U.S. military build up in the 1980s, as well as constraints on effective use of military power.

Cole, Henry G.
The emerging campaign for US troop reductions in Europe: siren call to disaster. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., U.S. Army War College, 1981. 19 p.
"The author of this memorandum contends that reduction of US troop strength in Europe in the near future would be a mistake. He argues that the reasons for having a US presence there is as valid for the 1980's as it was in the 1950's and 1960's: to deter Soviet aggression and to prop up Europe--because it is in the interest of the United States to do so."

Through European eyes: should NATO strategy be changed? Parameters, v. 11, Dec. 1981: 14-23.
Examines differences between U.S. and Western European perceptions of national security, NATO strategy, and foreign policy objectives. Reviews courses of action open to the U.S. in its relations with European members of NATO.

Gordon, Michael R.
Buy-American weapons drive--another thorn in trans-Atlantic relations. National journal, v. 14, Aug. 14, 1982: 1416-1420.
"European diplomats warn that it will strain the NATO alliance, while some in the Pentagon worry that it will hurt the goal of allied arms standardization."

NATO. Military logistics forum, v. 1, Mar. 1985: 21-34.
One article and an interview examine the impact of the Nunn Amendment on NATO burden-sharing.

Gormley, Dennis M.
A new dimension to Soviet theater strategy. Orbis, v. 29, fall 1985: 537-569.

"The Soviet Union has already deployed its first highly accurate dual-capable missiles in Eastern Europe . . . . These new short-range missiles (SS-21, SS-22, and SS-23) presage an emerging set of Soviet attack options that promise, by the start of the next decade, to turn currently debatable shortcomings in NATO's defenses into clearly dangerous deficiencies."

Soviet views on escalation, by Dennis M. Gormley and Douglas M. Hart. Washington quarterly, v. 7, fall 1984: 71-84.

"This paper has a dual purpose: first, it surveys the evolution of Soviet views on escalation from 1960 to the present, relating changes in views to growth in military capabilities; second, it examines contemporary Soviet escalation incentives and disincentives in the framework of evolving Western defense strategy."

Graebner, Norman A.

The United States and West Europe: an age of ambivalence. Current history, v. 85, Nov. 1986: 353-356, 387-389.

"Reviews United States-West European relations since the early 1980's. Disagreements during this period 'lead some Western observers to wonder whether the North Atlantic alliance had become obsolete . . . .'"

Graham, Daniel O.

A new strategy for the West: NATO after detente. [Washington] Heritage Foundation, c1977. 72 p.

Grand strategy for the Western Alliance, edited by Robert E. Hunter. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1984. 72 p.

Contains speeches drawn from a conference on "The Future of NATO and Global Security" held in Brussels in January 1984, sponsored by the Georgetown Univesity Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Contents.--Issues before the Atlantic Alliance, by H. Kissinger.--Leadership in the Alliance, by H. Schmidt.--An American perspective, by J. Schlesinger.--A balancing view, by J. Francoiss-Poncet.--The economic perspective, by E. Davignon.

Grant, James P.

Perspectives on development aid: World War II to today and beyond. In The Human dimension of foreign policy: an American perspective. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1979. (Annals, v. 442, Mar. 1979) p. 1-12.

"After World War II the United States responded to the decimation of Western Europe and to the expansion of communism by providing massive economic assistance--the Marshall Plan . . . . As of the late 1970s, . . . the most basic needs of nearly one billion people remain unmet and the international economic system is no longer working well . . . . Without increased cooperation and major systemic reforms, the North as well as the South face the prospect of persistent, high inflation and slower growth in the 1980s. Today . . . a new statecraft is required."

Grant, Richard L.

NATO MPs urge improvement in conventional force capabilities. NATO review, v. 33, Feb. 1985: 21-26.

Provides a summary of the discussion on NATO strategy, particularly the state of the Alliance's conventional forces which took place during the November 1984 annual session of the North Atlantic Assembly.

Graves, Ernest.

U.S. security assistance in the 1980s. Washington quarterly, v. 7, winter 1984: 145-155.

Reports on a study by the Center for Strategic Studies on U.S. security assistance, focusing on 1) the role of U.S. security assistance in historical perspectives; 2) perceptions of security assistance for the period 1959-1982; 3) decision making regarding security assistance; and 4) "implications for the future of security assistance as an instrument of U.S. defense and foreign policy." The study is based on a review of the literature and discussions with senior executive branch and congressional staff members, and representatives of interest groups.

Gray, Colin S.
NATO's nuclear dilemma. Policy review, no. 22, fall 1982: 97-116.
"The ill-advisability of a NATO declaratory stance of 'no first use' can only be presented judiciously if the more persuasive of the arguments in its favor are considered fairly. The potential for political damage to the alliance that lurks in the wings of 'no first use' discussion is so considerable that it is vital that the full panoply of considerations be weighed by all sides of the debate."

Great decisions 1987. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1987. 96 p.
Contents.--The Constitution and foreign policy.--Defense and the Federal deficit.--Egypt and the U.S.--The Pacific Basin.--South Africa.--Foreign investment in the U.S.--Pakistan and Afghanistan.--Dealing with revolution.

Green, Allen B. Janik, Michael T.
The law and politics of foreign military sales. George Washington journal of international law and economics, v. 16, no. 3, 1982: 539-577.
Contents.--The political framework.--The legal framework.--Prospects for future legislation.--Conclusion.

Green, Fitzhugh.
The environmental evolution of NATO, 1949-1986. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 24, winter 1986-87: 332-337.
"It has been recognized since the birth of the NATO alliance in 1949 that there is more to defense than military preparedness . . . . In the postwar period, therefore, national security has come increasingly to be defined in political, economic, and social terms as well."

Greenwald, G. Jonathan.
Vienna--a challenge for the Western alliance. Aussenpolitik, v. 38, no. 2, 1987: 155-167.
"The third CSCE Follow-up Conference began in Vienna November 4, 1986 and . . . marks a further stage in the Helsinki Process, which began with the signing of the CSCE Final Act at the 1975 Helsinki Summit and has brought its 35 participating states . . . together for earlier follow-up conferences in Belgrade (1977-78) and Madrid (1980-83), as well as a number of specialized meetings . . . . The Vienna Conference is charged with two principal tasks: to review the state of implementation of existing agreements and to consider possible new steps that could be taken to advance security and cooperation in Europe." Focuses on "tensions which CSCE produces within NATO."

Greenwood, David.
Allocating resources for Western Europe's defence. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, Oct.-Nov. 1982: 20, 22-23.
Contends, using U.S. Dept. of Defense statistics, that European members of NATO are shouldering at least their share of the NATO defense burden. Suggests, however, that emphasis should be on outputs rather than expenditures and advocates specialization based on a rational division of labor.

NATO's three per cent solution. Survival, v. 23, Nov.-Dec. 1981: 252-260.
Describes the rationale underlying NATO members' goal of increasing defense budgets each year by three percent in real terms. Considers this goal a mixed blessing at best, and describes problems resulting from it.

Strengthening conventional deterrence: doctrine, new technology and resources. NATO review, v. 32, Aug. 1984: 8-12.
The author claims that although "there is now a clear consensus among NATO nations that a major effort should be made to strengthen conventional deterrence and defence in Europe . . . . There is no real agreement on how best to do this." By analysing the Soviet and Warsaw Pact "way of warfare" he concludes that both the "Rogers Plan" and the Weinberger "initiative" are unsatisfacory and advocates "more efficient use of the Alliance's resources through role specialisation" as the solution.

Greinke, Everett D. DeLauer, Richard D.
[Reciprocity in U.S. and NATO defense procurement: the concept of the "two-way street"] Armed Forces journal international, v. 120, Sept. 1982: 66, 68, 70, 72, 74-76, 80, 82-84.

Acting Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for International Programs and Technology, Everett D. Greinke, and Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, Dr. Richard D. DeLauer, discuss reciprocity in arms sales within the NATO community, especially U.S. procurement of defense materiel from its NATO allies.

Grier, Peter.
US considers cutting NATO funds and manpower. Christian Science monitor, Dec. 12, 1986: 3-4.
Examines proposals supporting "major shifts in the US contribution to NATO's military structure."

World without nuclear weapons? Christian Science monitor, Nov. 18, 1986: 1, 6; Nov. 19: 3-4; Nov. 20: 3-4; Nov. 21: 2-3; Nov. 24: 3-4.
Contents.--Beyond theory to reality: can the world disarm?-- NATO's arms hold USSR in line.--Is proving the terror of global nuclear war a waste of time?--If nuclear arms went, would, superpower tension go too?--In nuclear world, hope is most important, all experts agree.

Griffith, William E.
Bonn and Washington: from deterioration to crisis? Orbis, v. 26, spring 1982: 117-133.
The article focuses on the "problematic" U.S.-West German relationship.

Superpower problems in Europe: a comparative assessment. Orbis, v. 29, winter 1986: 735-752.
"This article concentrates on Soviet problems in Eastern Europe and treats Western alliance problems more briefly, and primarily for comparative purposes. The involvement of the German question in both alliances highlights this interrelated treatment. The problems of both sides will be assessed for their effects on the Soviet-American correlation of forces."

Grigorenko, Petro.
Diplomatic delusions. Reason, v. 13, Jan. 1982: 39-41.
A former major general in the Soviet Army, who was arrested and confined for his dissident activities in the Soviet Union, asserts that the Soviets used the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to achieve their goals, yet refused to fulfill their human rights obligations under the agreements. He contends that "the Helsinki provisions untied the Soviet Union's hands for its adventures in the non-European theater. It also aided in masking the Soviet arms race and provided it with additional weaponry for weakening the defensive capabilities of the West through unilateral pacifist propaganda aimed at the West."

Groom, A. J. R.
An independent Britain in an interdependent world: thinking the unthinkable? Millenium, v. 11, autumn 1982: 242-254.
"According to the author, the time has come for Britain to rethink her role in a changing and dangerous world and to adopt a stance of 'concerned independence.'" Such a policy would entail loosening Britain's ties with the European Community and breaking its ties with NATO.

Guns v. butter. Business week, no. 2767, Nov. 29, 1982: 68-74, 76, 78-81.
"In this Special Report, Business Week examines in detail how defense spending can be cut. And it looks at ways to deal with the social program that needs the most urgent attention: Social Security.'

Haagerup, Niels J.
The European security identity. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 29, Sept.-Oct. 1984: 36, 38-40.
"The stirrings for a European security consciousness go back a long way and, although they have not yet fully borne fruit, they have been expressed in several groupings. Movement is slow and obstacles are manifold but Mr. Haagerup shows that it is taking shape in its various aspects in the different European organisations. He advocates a gradual and pragmatic approach."

Scandinavian NATO without nuclear weapons? Washington quarterly, v. 9, winter 1986: 5-14.
Examines the impact of recent political trends in Scandinavia on NATO. "Just as a Nordic nuclear weapons-free zone is highly unlikely to be established in isolation from other East-West arrangements in Europe, or in any other manner, the outcome of the debates in Denmark and Norway will be strongly influenced by changes in the external political and military environments of the two countries."

Haass, Richard N.
Managing NATO's weakest flank: the United States, Greece, and Turkey. Orbis, v. 30, fall 1986: 457-473.
"The United States often finds itself attempting to nurture close relations with two or more states that are in close proximity but at odds with one another . . . . The United States often has no option but to choose between or among those it has wooed. In many instances, the United States ends up alienating one protagonist for not doing enough on its behalf, alienating the other for doing too much. Greece and Turkey constitute a unique and important example of this problem."

Hackett, James T.
How the White House can regain control of foreign policy. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1984. 11 p. (Issue bulletin no. 27)
The authority and influence of the careerists in the United States Foreign Service have increased considerably during the Administration of a President who came to Washington intent on reducing the federal bureaucracy. This anomalous situation directly affects foreign policy decisionmaking."

Hadley, Arthur T.
America's broken war machine: why Johnny can't fight and Uncle Sam can't win. New republic, v. 1980, May 7, 1984: 18-25.

Middle-aged, out of shape. Boston globe magazine, Oct. 19, 1980: 10-11, 30-32, 34, 38-39, 42, 46.
Describes recent NATO military training exercises, focusing on the difficulties of the American forces with personnel and equipment. Assesses the viability of the NATO alliance after 30 years.

Haig, Alexander M., Jr.
The future of deterrence. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1987. 9 p. (Heritage lectures 92)
"The peace of the world depends upon deterrence and specifically, the deterrence of aggression across a spectrum of force, ranging from the nuclear to the conentional. Deterrence has many components. There must be adequate capabilities, in fact and in perception, to meet challenges at any level," argues the former Secretary of State.

Halperin, Morton H.
Keeping our troops in Europe. New York times magazine, Oct. 17, 1982: 82-84, 86, 88, 93-97.
"An ex-Defense Department official argues that, should the U.S. withdraw its troops from Europe, it will give up an arrangement that offers us a great deal of security for a small amount of money."

NATO and the TNF [theater nuclear forces] controversy: threats to the alliance. Orbis, v. 26, spring 1982: 105-116.
"Only after ascertaining what NATO is supposed to do, how it is supposed to do it, and what the major obstacles are to its effectiveness can we resolve the TNF dispute."

Hamer, John.
World arms sales. Washington, Editorial Research Reports, 1976. 325-341 p. (Editorial research reports, 1976, v. 1, no. 17)
Contents.--Upsurge of arms sales abroad.--Heritage of munitions merchants.--New controversies in arms trade.
Concentrates on American arms sales abroad, focusing on pro and con arguments, history of the arms trade, and the recent charges of bribery.

Hamilton, Andrew.
Redressing the conventional balance: NATO's reserve military manpower. International security, v. 10, summer 1985: 111-116.

"Two arguments are advanced in this article. First, the NATO-Warsaw Pact conventional balance in Central Europe today is shaky but not beyond repair . . . . Second, NATO conventional capabilities can be strengthened dramatically by equipping and reorganizing available trained European military manpower to form new operational combat units."

Hamm, Manfred R.
Deterrence, chemical warfare, and arms control. Orbis, v. 29, spring 1985: 119-163.
Focuses on the tactical and strategic implications of the chemical warfare imbalance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

A European antitactical ballistic missile system, deterrence, and the conventional defense of NATO, by Manfred R. Hamm and Kim R. Holmes. Washington quarterly, v. 10, spring 1987: 61-78.

Missiles in Europe: the case for deployment. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1983. 15 p. (Backgrounder no. 300)
"Fierce opposition by some Europeans to INF deployment of the first batch of missiles in three NATO countries will be a critical test of the Alliance's political resolve and cohesion. Yet there is no reason to postpone the initial deployment," argues the author refuting six main arguments by the critics of deployment.

Moscow's emerging Blitzkrieg option. Contemporary review, v. 249, Nov. 1986: 232-235.
"NATO planners are increasingly worried about Moscow's growing ability to launch an attack against Western Europe without NATO being able to exercise its nuclear option. Last year in May, NATO's Military Committee concluded that NATO's conventional forces might be overrun before a political decision could be made to employ nuclear weapons. In such a hopeless situation, our European allies would probably prefer defeat and surrender to wanton nuclear destruction."

Nuclear weapons: a test ban and the NATO Alliance. Contemporary review, v. 250, June 1987: 303-307.

Hammond, Paul Y. Louscher, David J. Salomon, Michael D.
Controlling U.S. arms arms transfers: the emerging system. Orbis, v. 23, summer 1979: 317-352.
"In this article, we shall assess the dynamics of the decision process by which the U.S. government chooses to sell or not to sell arms to other nations. The focus is on the control mechanisms that have emerged within the various agencies processing arms-sales decisions."

Growing dilemmas for the management of arms sales. Armed Forces and society, v. 6, fall 1979: 1-21.
The article discusses the role of U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Groups as one instrument for establishing United States presence in friendly governments. Until 1976 the MAAG's advisory and management functions were sizable, but were later reduced for the fear of too much autonomy of the field personnel.

Hampton, J. P.
Integrated air defense for NATO. United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 112, Sept. 1986: 114-116.
"The new generation of Soviet airlaunched cruise missiles and the Fencer, Backfire, and Blackjack bombers have greatly increased the Soviet air threat to NATO's southern flank."

Hankee, William B. King, Alwyn H.
The role of security assistance in maintaining access to strategic resources. Parameters, v. 8, Sept. 1978: 41-50.

Hanne, William G.
Doctrine, not dogma. Military review, v. 63, June 1983: 11-25.
"This article challenges certain aspects of some of the current writings on AirLand Battle doctrine in the hope that fresh thought and ideas can be interjected into the doctrinal process. The author attempts to determine the Soviet operational maneuver group's impact on the extended battlefield and offers a series of possible solutions or risk-reducing measures for countering its effects."

Hanning, Hugh.
NATO, our guarantee of peace, by Hugh Hanning. London, Washington, Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1986. 56 p.
Traces the history of the Atlantic Alliance from 1949 to the present day.

Hanning, Norbert.
The defense of Western Europe with conventional weapons. International defense review, v. 4, no. 11, 1981: 1439-1443.
"The author advances the view that a credible deterrent is not necessarily related to the nuclear capability of a military power, but can also be ensured by conventional forces."

Hansen, James H.
Countering NATO's new weapons: Soviet concepts for war in Europe. International defense review, v. 17, no. 11, 1984: 1617-1624.
"This article will survey the Soviet design for combat in the mid-1980s from the viewpoint of the Soviet military planner. Considering the major US/NATO weapons and forces which would be obstacles to a Soviet/Warsaw Pact victory, it will examine Soviet plans to neutralize or counter them."

Hansen, Roger D., and others.
U.S. foreign policy and the Third World: agenda 1982. New York, Praeger Publishers [c1982] 249 p. (Praeger special studies)
Partial contents.--Power, purpose, and proportion: U.S. foreign policy in the 1980s, by R. Hansen.--Making liberal trade policies work in the 1980s, by A. Fishlow.--Statistical annexes, by J. Wallace.--World trade.--World military expenditures.--Resource flows.

Harbison, Ian.
NATO's Atlantic patrol. Defence attache, no. 4, 1986: 24-27.
"Defence Attache's recently had an exclusive opportunity to spend several days with NATO's Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT) as it carried out a range of exercises in the Skaggerak, between Norway and Denmark."

Harbron, John D.
Spanish foreign policy since Franco. Toronto, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1984. 15 p. (Behind the headlines, 1984, v. 41, no. 4)

Hard times for foreign aid. Time, v. 129, Feb. 9, 1987: 38-39.

Hardt, D. Brent.
Symbolism and substance: Henry Kissinger and the year of Europe. Fletcher forum, v. 9, winter 1985: 167-192.
The author "explores Kissinger's views on alliance unity as exemplified in his Year of Europe . . . . After examining Kissinger's grand design for alliance unity from both a European and an American perspective, Mr. Hardt points out the difficulty in translating a symbolic vision of unity into a substantive program for achieving that unity."

Hardt, John P.
East-West economic relations: alternative scenarios for the Atlantic Alliance. Cologne, Bundesinstitut fur Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien, 1983. 44 p.
Partial contents.--Diversity in East-West.--Alternative alliance scenarios.--Outcomes of alliance deliberations: implications for Western relations with the East.

Hardy, Tony Le.
Communications in NATO: establishing the missing links. International defense review, v. 16, no. 12, 1983: 1733-1737.
"This article traces the evolution of NATO communications from the mid-1960s to the present. It highlights the problems and difficulties encountered with the implementation of the NATO Integrated Communications System (NICS), the achievements to be realized this year, and the plan for the future."

Harrison, Michael M.
Our Atlantic quagmire. Washington quarterly, v. 5, summer 1982: 67-73.
"Mounting divergence in the European allies' definition of their world role and their priorities has led to Atlantic disarray and marks the end of the postwar system."

The reluctant ally: France and Atlantic security. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, c1981. 304 p.

Harrison, Stanley.
Congress and foreign military sales. Military review, v. 51, Oct. 1971: 79-87.
"The continuing importance of foreign military sales as an instrument of national policy is clearly apparent in the light of the Nixon doctrine," writes this author.

Hartley, Keith.
NATO arms co-operation: a study in economics and politics. London, Boston, Allen & Unwin, 1983. 228 p.

Haseler, Stephen.
The Euro-missile crisis. Commentary, v. 75, May 1983: 28-32.

NATO and neutralism, by Stephen Haseler and Werner Kaltefleiter. [Washington, Heritage Foundation, c1981] 27 p. (Heritage lectures, 8)
Contents.--Strains within the alliance, by S. Haseler.--Europe: an open window?, by W. Kaltefleiter.

Walking out on NATO. Policy review, no. 40, spring 1987: 62-66.
"NATO, however, must now begin preparing for a threat that might well put its future in jeopardy: the strong possibility that Britain will cease to be an important member of the western alliance."

Hassner, Pierre.
France, deterrence and Europe: rationalizing the irrational. International defense review, no. 17, no. 2, 1984: 133-142.

Frustrated but frozen: Europe and the Atlantic relationship. International journal, v. 39, spring 1984: 410-428.
"In the last analysis, whether encouraged by changes in Europe, in the Third World, or, above all, in their own societies, it is still only a change in the nature of the Soviet regime or in the staying power of the American commitment which can give birth to a structurally new Europe."

Moscow and the Western alliance. Problems of communism, v. 30, May-June 1981: 37-54.
"The months since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 have witnessed the dawning of a new era in Soviet foreign policy, with the launching of a major Soviet peace campaign. To some extent, this campaign represents an effort to consolidate previous gains and to counteract trends that Moscow perceives as dangerous in Western, and particularly US, policy. It is also an attempt to exploit opportunities that Moscow sees before it, particularly in Western Europe."

The shifting foundation. Foreign policy, no. 48, fall 1982: 3-20.
Compares and contrasts U.S. and Western European, especially West German, perceptions of NATO and of East-West relations. Suggests that though the U.S. views NATO in terms of military threat, "the political struggle for the orientation of Europe, in particular Germany, is the very purpose of the two alliances."

Healey, Denis.
How the Allies should behave. Fortune, v. 102, Aug. 11, 1980: 152-156, 158, 160.
Britain's former Chancellor of the Exchequer suggests that the NATO alliance is not in disarray. Contends that the allies don't need to respond as one to all of each other's problems.

A Labour Britain, NATO and the bomb. Foreign affairs, v. 65, spring 1987: 716-729.
"The main objective of a Labour government in NATO would be to persuade its allies to cooperate in building an effective conventional deterrent in Europe."

Heer, Hagen.
Territorial defence: protecting the home base. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 28, Feb.-Mar. 1983: 50, 53-54.
The author, an assistant section chief on the Federal German Army staff, describes the West German Territorial Army "in the framework of German national military defence, taking into account in particular the employment of its combat troops for the protection of rear areas," and cooperation with NATO land forces.

Heginbotham, Stanley J.
Dateline Washington: the rules of the games. Foreign policy, no. 53, winter 1983-1984: 157-172.
The author examines "the dynamics of congressional-executive interaction on foreign policy," and concludes that "progress in congressional-executive consultation on foreign policy requires realism and perspective. No other country's political system demands a comparable effort to reconcile such divergent games as those played in the U.S. Congress and in the U.S. foreign-policy establishment."

The evolution of U.S. foreign aid programs: an overview. Congressional Research Service review, v. 6, Sept. 1985: 5-7.
"This article summarizes a number of major issues and trends in the history of post-World War II U.S. foreign aid."

Heiberg, William L.
The sixteenth nation: Spain's role in NATO. Washington, National Defense University Press [for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O.] 1983. 78 p. (Monograph series no. 83-1)
Contents.--The Alliance in 1982.--Spain's potential.--NATO and US objectives.--Spanish objectives.--Spain's role in NATO.--The impact of Spanish membership.

Heitman, Helmoed-Romer.
The South Atlantic: NATO's unprotected communications zone. Navy international, v. 90, Feb. 1985: 103-107.

Helmer, Olaf.
The future relationship between the superpowers. Futures, v. 18, Aug. 1986: 484-492.
"This article looks at how the relationship between the USA and the Soviet Union may develop over the next 20 years. It discusses the effectiveness and stability of nuclear deterrence, the potential elimination of nuclear weapons and America's Strategic Defense Initiative."

Helprin, Mark.
Drawing the line in Europe: the case for missile deployment. New York times magazine, Dec. 4, 1983: 53-54, 56, 104, 106, 108.
"The Euromissile crisis, says the author, is not military but political."

Hendrickson, David C.
NATO defense: no need for basic change. Parameters, v. 17, summer 1987: 76-85.
Examines proposals for changing the NATO alliance.

Henderson, Nichloas, Sir.
The birth of NATO. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1983. 130 p.

Henrikson, Alan K.
The creation of the North Atlantic alliance, 1948-1952. Naval War College review, v. 32, May-June 1980: 4-39.

"This paper looks at the founding of NATO, the treaty, the organizational structure, and the military forces--what conditions required and fostered NATO and why what resulted, rather than something else, did result. It also invites a consideration of two not opposite questions--whether the defense of Europe should be more 'Europenized'; whether NATO should be geographically and functionally broadened."

The Heritage Foundation arms control handbook: a guide to the history, arsenals and issues of U.S.-Soviet negotiations. Edited by W. Bruce Weinrod. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1987. 175 p.

Herken, Gregg.
The great foreign policy fight. American heritage, v. 37, Apr./May 1986: 65-80.
"For forty years George Kennan and Paul Nitze, architects of our foreign policy under nine Presidents, have squared off over Russia, the atom bomb, arms control--everything except their respect and affection for each other."

Herrmann, Richard.
The power of perceptions in foreign-policy decision making: do views of the Soviet Union determine the policy choices of American leaders? American journal of political science, v. 30, Nov. 1986: 841-875.
Considers "the relationship between perception and policy choice in American foreign policy." Try to identify "whether or not leaders generalize from a basic 'Soviet schema'," and finds "that American leaders are badly divided on the 'Soviet question' and disagree on the fundamentals of U.S. strategy."

Heseltine, Michael.
European defence procurement. World today, v. 42, July 1986: 115-117.
Examines goals and objectives for cooperation among European nations in the area of defense procurement. "The list of projects produced by European cooperation is growing. Notably the three-nation Tornado has led to the four-nation European Fighter Aircraft . . . . Furthermore, the Independent European Programme Group (IEPG) has found a new confidence and is working on a growing list of shared endeavours."

Strengthening Europe's contribution to the common defence: the role of Eurogroup. NATO review, v. 32, Dec. 1984: 18-22.
British Secretary of State for Defense defines the Eurogroup and discusses its role in European defense. "One of the principal concerns of the Eurogroup has been to ensure not only that the Europeans play a full part in the strengthening of the Alliance's military capabilities, but that that contribution is fully recognised and understood in North America."

The United Kingdom's strategic interests and priorities, by Michael Heseltine and Harry Tuzo. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 128, Dec. 1983: 3-5.

Hess, H. Jurgen.
The Central American dilemma: West German perceptions and options. Fletcher forum, v. 10, summer 1986: 297-315.
"In the case of West Germany these historically strong economic ties, often in opposition to United States policy, are complicated by equally strong present-day security ties with the United States. The West German government must strengthen NATO and at the same time respond effectively to strong domestic opposition to United States policy in Central America. [The author] surveys the historical relationship between West Germany and Central America and the current policies of the four West German political parties represented in Parliament toward the region. He argues that policy options are limited, given overwhelming U.S. influence in the region."

Hirschman, Albert O. Bird, Richard M.
Foreign aid--a critique and a proposal. Princeton, N.J., International Finance Section, Princeton University, 1968. 30 p. (Essays in international finance, no. 69)

Hirschfeld, Thomas J.
Tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Washington quarterly, v. 10, winter 1987: 101-121.

"Does the West still need thousands of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe? The short answer is that we can live with fewer if we modernize our nuclear forces, keep our conventional guard up, and keep Soviet capabilities proportional through arms control," argues the author.

Hixson, John. Cooling, Benjamin Franklin.
Combined operations in peace and war. Rev. ed. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., U.S. Army Military History Institute, 1982. 434 p.
Contents.--The traditional approach in the age of imperialism.--The first test of coalitions--World War I.--France and Flanders, 1939-1940.--Integrated unit operations, North Africa and Italy.--Staff integration, North Africa and Italy.--Enforced integration, three case studies.--The Axis experience: Russia, North Africa, and Finland.--The Korean War.--NATO: the first thirty years.--Lessons learned.

Hnatyshyn, Ray.
Canada: its recommitment to NATO. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 22, fall 1984: 200-203.

Hockley, Anthony Farrar.
Defense in the higher latitudes. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, winter 1981-82: 449-454.
"The prime factor for deterrence in the north Scandinavia is the collective defense capability of the nations comprising the region and those reinforcing them in time of war."

Hoffman, Stanley.
The crisis in the West. New York review of books, v. 27, July 17, 1980: 41-48.
Deals with the present crisis in the Atlantic Alliance, the reasons for the estrangement which exist on both sides of the Atlantic, and the prospects for better American-European cooperation.

Hoffmann, Hubertus G.
A missile defense for Europe? Strategic review, v. 12, summer 1984: 45-55.

Hoffmann, Stanley.
Cries and whimpers: thoughts on West European-America relations in the 1980s. Daedalus, v. 113, summer 1984: 221-252.
The author looks at the West European situation and misgivings about America and tries to suggest some alternatives.

Dead ends: American foreign policy in the new cold war. Cambridge, Mass., Ballinger Pub. Co., c1983. 301 p.

NATO and nuclear weapons: reasons and unreason. Foreign affairs, v. 60, winter 1981-1982: 327-346.

The U.S. and Western Europe: wait and worry. Foreign affairs, v. 63, no. 3, 1985: 631-652.
"The year brought no breakthroughs, no catastrophes. It did produce some progress on a variety of fronts--East-West, intra-European, NATO--but not enough to make of 1984 something more than a year of frustrations. These can best be discussed by examining the scene first from the viewpoint of the West Europeans, and then from that of the United States."

The Western Alliance: drift or harmony? International security, v. 6, fall 1981: 105-125.
"Examines causes underlying differences among NATO allies' reactions to the unfavorable evolution of the military balance in Europe, the collapse of Soviet-American detente, and the increasing vulnerability of NATO members to events in other areas of the world, especially to the Middle East and Persian Gulf. Suggests ways to restore harmony among Alliance members.

Hofmann, Wilfried.
Is NATO's defence policy facing a crisis? NATO review, v. 32, Aug. 1984: 1-7.
"Should NATO be seeking alternative strategies? Should it renounce the option of being the first to use nuclear weapons? Could it establish a purely conventional deterrence? These and other questions are considered by Dr. Hofmann in the article which follows."

Whence the threat? The successor generation and the equidistance syndrome. NATO review, v. 35, June 1987: 8-13.
Former Director of Information for NATO examines the status and future of the Alliance. "NATO's future . . . crucially depends on whether we can rekindle in the minds of each sucessor generation those spiritual forces which preceded materialism and value-agnosticism and made the Western heritage great."

Hogan, Michael J.
American Marshall planners and the search for a European neocapitalism. American historical review, v. 90, Feb. 1985: 44-72.
Contends that "through the Marshall Plan, American leaders sought to recast Europe in the image of American neocapitalism. They envisioned a Western European system in which class conflict would give way to cooperative collaboration, economic self-sufficiency to economic interdependence, international rivalry to rapprochement and cooperation, and arbitrary national controls to the integrating powers of supranational authorities and natural market forces."

Holloway, David.
Nuclear weapons in Europe. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 39, Apr. 1983: 17-24.

Holmes, David R.
The role of US security assistance: its impact on the recipient nation. Military review, v. 58, Feb. 1978: 68-74.

Holmes, John W.
The dumbbell won't do. Foreign policy, no. 50, spring 1983: 3-22.
The author, Assistant Undersecretary of State for External Affairs in the Canadian Government from 1953 to 1960, provides a Canadian perspective on the NATO alliance. He critiques the habit of viewing NATO not as a community of states but as a bilateral deal--the pattern known traditionally as the dumbbell or two pillars." Holmes examines the tendency to ignore Canada in discussions of NATO, despite Canada's importance to the alliance. He also considers "the U.S. habit of acting unilaterally . . . and then measuring its allies fidelity according to their willingness to follow and support its policies.

Holmes, Kim R.
The conventional arms balance; part 1: the threatening Soviet lead. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1986. 18 p. (Backgrounder no. 489)
"The U.S.-Soviet balance of conventional forces favors Moscow by a wide margin. The increasing technological sophistication of Soviet weaponry has added an extra punch to the already tremendous numerical lead Moscow holds in most categories of conventional arms. . . . The conventional imbalance is most dangerous for the U.S. in ground forces and air defense."
Contents.--The balance of land power.--The balance of sea power.--Tactical air forces.

Europeanizing NATO. Washington quarterly, v. 7, spring 1984: 59-68.
"The evolution of an independent European defense system, if it ever were to occur, may actually mark the beginning of a return to normalcy in U.S.-European relations as well as a new era of maturation of the NATO alliance."

Holst, Johan Jorgen.
The future of East-West relations: some policy perspectives. Naval War College review, v. 35, Sept.-Oct. 1982: 12-22.
An attempt to explore the future course of East-West relations from a policy perspective focusing on patterns of relationship, rather than on detailed analysis of specific issues.

The northern region--key to Europe? Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, spring 1981: 28-36.
Surveys Soviet deployments on the Kola Peninsula. Reviews the security policies of Scandinavian countries, the importance of the northern region to NATO, and NATO problems in transporting reinforcements to Norway. Considers the implications of extending coastal state jurisdiction over ocean areas for the stability of Scandinavia. Reviews Norwegian foreign and security policies.

Norwegian security policy and peace in Nordic Europe. World today, v. 37, Jan. 1981: 22-28.

A Western perspective on the East-West arms control agenda. NATO review, v. 30, June 1982: 23-28.
The Director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs surveys prospects and guidelines for arms control negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact regarding strategic nuclear weapons, intermediate range nuclear forces in Europe, and conventional forces in Europe.

Holzman, Franklyn D.
Are we falling behind the Soviets? Atlantic monthly, v. 252, July 1983: 10, 12, 14, 18-19.

Hommel, Nicolas.
Luxembourg: from neutrality to the Atlantic Alliance. NATO review, v. 30, no. 5, 1982: 29-33.

Hopmann, P. Terrence.
The path to no-first-use: conventional arms control. World policy journal, v. 1, winter 1984: 319-337.
"The proposal to link a no-first-use policy with conventional force limitations in Europe represents not only a way to resolve the current strains within the Atlantic alliance, but also the first step in a process of negotiating a more durable security arrangement in Europe."

Hough, Richard L.
Economic assistance and security: rethinking US policy. Washington, National Defense University Press, 1982. 139 p.

Houllez, Marcel.
The Atlantic: a broadening ocean. Studia diplomatica, v. 36, no. 4-5, 1983: 337-413.
"General and specific causes of divergences between the United States and Western Europe in the field of East-West relations and European security."

Houwelingen, Jan, van.
The Independent European Programme Group (IEPG): the way ahead. NATO review, v. 32, Aug. 1984: 17-21.
The author, Chairman of the Independent European Programme Group (IEPG) describes the group's origins and organization, delineates 3 main reasons why "closer European arms cooperation has become imperative," and concludes that "there is no doubt that European arms cooperation is of crucial importance to the future of the Alliance."

Howard, Michael.
Reassurance and deterrence: Western defense in the 1980s. Foreign affairs, v. 61, winter 1982-1983: 309-324.

Howe, Geoffrey.
Defense and security in the nuclear age. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 23, spring 1985: 33-42.
In this March 15, 1985 speech at the Royal United Services Institute, London, Sir Geoffrey reviews NATO's defense options, explores the relationship between defense in its broadest sense and systems intended to defend against nuclear weapons, and highlights the "issues our Alliance must tackle if its success in ensuring peace is to continue."

The European pillar. Foreign affairs, v. 63, winter 1984-85: 330-343.
"No better image has even been found for the Atlantic Alliance than the arch supported by two pillars, one planted in North America, the other in Western Europe . . . . An arch so large cannot escape occasional stresses and strains . . . . The mutual dependence of America and Europe still justifies, the continuing presence of large U.S. forces on our continent."

Howorth, Jolyon.
The third way. Foreign policy, no. 65, winter 1986-87: 114-134.
"There have been only two coherent postwar scenarios for Europe. The first rests . . . of 'Atlanticism,' that concept positing a community of purpose between the peoples of Western Europe and those of North America. The second scenario centers on a process of transcontinental reconciliation, implying gradual progress toward a regional security structure from, say, the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains."

Hughes, Thomas L.
Up from Reaganism. Foreign policy, no. 44, fall 1981: 3-22.
Survey's President Reagan's approach to relations with leaders of other NATO countries, stressing diversity among NATO leaders and the importance of the NATO allies to the U.S. Reviews U.S. foreign policies, and suggests that the U.S. work with its allies in responding to issues throughout the world.

Huisken, Ron.
INF: negotiations about what to negotiate about. Australian outlook, v. 38, Aug. 1984: 65-71.
"This paper looks at how INF came to dominate the arms control agenda, briefly traces the course of two years of negotiations and suggests a basis for their resumption."

Hunt, Kenneth.
NATO without France: the military implications. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1986. 26 p.

Hunter, Robert E.
What crisis? Washington quarterly, v. 5, summer 1982: 53-57.
Suggests that "in at least four critical areas, a divide is opening across the Atlantic--not an irreparable or unabridgeable divide, but one that we will ignore at everyone's peril": East-West relations, international economic relations, relations with developing countries, and the rise of a successor generation which was not born when the Alliance was formed.

Huntington, Samuel P.
Conventional deterrence and conventional retaliation in Europe. International security, v. 8, winter 1983-84: 32-56.
Huntington discusses the strategic desirability, military feasibility, and political possibility of a NATO strategy of conventional retaliation.

Hussain, Farooq.
Emerging technology: economic and military implications for the Alliance. [In RUSI and Brassey's Defence Yearbook] 1985. London, Washington, Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1985. p. 163-176.
"Inadequacies in the Alliance's force posture have traditionally been framed in a manner that permits superior technology to provide the fix. Technology has been, and largely continues to be seen as the 'force multipler', the means by which smaller forces can deter larger forces by possessing qualitative advantages in performance of weapon systems."

Hyland, William G.
The Atlantic crisis. Daedalus, v. 110, winter 1981: 41-51.
Reviews strains in relations between the U.S. and its European NATO allies resulting from divergences over policies toward the Middle East, Afghanistan, and Iran, as well as from differing attitudes toward military deployments in Europe, European security needs, and arms control negotiations.

Prospects for East-West relations, by William G. Hyland, Karl Kaiser, and Hiroshi Kimura. New York, Trilateral Commission, 1986. 52 p. (Triangle papers: 31)

Contents.--The setting.--The United States.--The balance of relations. --The new Soviet leadership.--Trilateral relations.--Major issues.--Strategic policy and arms control.--The political relations.--Eastern Europe.--Asia.--The Third World.--Economiclations.

Soviet theatre forces and arms control policy. Survival, v. 23, Sept.-Oct. 1981: 194-199.

U.S.-Soviet relations: the long road back; America and the world. Foreign affairs, v. 60, no. 3, 1982: 525-550.
Reviews the Reagan administration's relations with the U.S.S.R. Discusses the Administration's policies regarding arms control, military strategy and strategic and tactical forces. Reviews U.S. policy toward the Middle East in light of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Considers economic relations between NATO countries and the U.S.S.R., in light of political activities in Poland.

The USSR and the Western Alliance. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, fall 1981: 312-330.
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"There is no military-security benefit from continuing to pursue the MBFR negotiations in their current form . . . . The Soviet advantage in virtually every aspects of the conventional balance has deprived NATO of negotiating leverage . . . . It is therefore time the U.S. exerted its leadership within the North Atlantic alliance to change the parameters for negotiating conventional force reductions," concludes the author.

Litwak, Robert S.
The United States, Britain and Europe: changed relationships in a changing world--the summing up. Oxfordshire, Eng., Ditchley Foundation, 1985. 7 p. (Ditchley conference report no. 13, 1984/85)
"The conference concluded with broad agreement that there has been a 'special relationship' between America and Britain since 1945 . . . . Today the bilateral relationship is still special in quality, but is less self-evidently important in global terms."

Liversage, Toni. Winter, Judith.
Influencing the decision makers. Journal of European nuclear disarmament, issue 8, Feb.-Mar. 1984: 14-15.
"NATO's nuclear strategy has been increasingly questioned in recent years . . . . What is special about the development in Denmark is that it has been manifested on a parliamentary level from an acceptance of the dual-track decision in December 1979, to a wide de facto rejection of it by a majority in the present Danish parliament (Folketinget), four years later. The main reason for this rejection is found in new developments taking place inside the Danish Social Democrat Party."

Livingston, Robert Gerald.
Anti-nuclear protest and the Alliance. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 21, spring 1983: 63-70.

Lodgaard, Sverre.
Focus on: arms race in Europe. Journal of peace research, v. 17, no. 1, 1980: 1-8.

Longstreth, Thomas K. Pike, John E.
INF agreement could take eyes off the bigger prize. Los Angeles times, Aug. 4, 1987: 5.
"The flurry of recent activity by U.S. and Soviet officials suggest that an agreement eliminating shorter- and intermediate-range nuclear forces is close at hand, while the prospects for one reducing strategic, long-range missiles are fading . . . . But in purely military terms the contribution of an INF treaty is limited. The agreement would not eliminate a single Soviet nuclear weapon capable of striking the United States."

Lord, Carnes.
Second thoughts on INF? Global affairs, v. 2, summer 1987: 20-34.

Lord, Winston.
Western security: what has changed? What should be done? Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, summer 1981: 168-172.

Lunn, Simon.
Burden-sharing in NATO. London; Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983. 88 p.
Contents.--Introduction.--The historical background.--The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.--The alliance dilemma.--The Reagan administration.--Burden-sharing.-- Problems and prospects.

Intermediate range nuclear forces--problems and perspectives. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, Feb.-Mar. 1982: 46-48, 51-52.

Luns, Joseph M. A. H.
Taking a parting look at NATO. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 22, summer 1984: 99-105.
NATO's retiring secretary general "sums up and comments upon" the organization during his 13 years of leadership, from 1971 to the present.

Lutz, Dieter S.
A counterforce/countervalue-scenario or: how much is enough? Hamburg, Institut fur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik, Universitat Hamburg, 1982. 32 p. (IFSH-Diskussionsbeitrage nr. 17)
"Without the planned increase in Euro-strategic systems, is NATO faced with situation of an 'atomic deterrent deficit', and conversely does the prospect exist for WTO of a nuclear offensive war with a calculable risk and acceptable consequences? . . . In order to operationalise this question, we proceed in the following pages from a hypothetical situation based on the following assumptions which are oriented at a 'worst case' situation to the disadvantage of NATO."

Lynn, Kenneth S.
The Schlesinger thesis. Commentary, v. 83, Mar. 1987: 46-52.
Traces the ideas of the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. about American politics and the role of the United States in international relations.

Lyon, Peyton V.
NATO as a diplomatic instrucment. [Toronto] Atlantic Council of Canada [c1970] 38 p.

MacDonald, Hugh.
NATO's dilemma: defense, security, and arms control. Millennium, v. 9, no. 2, 1981: 147-160.
Describes the NATO debate on theatre nuclear force posture modernization. Examines military strategy dilemmas that NATO faces and interests underlying Soviet strategy. Suggests that both NATO and the Soviets need to rethink the relationship between defense policy and security needs. Proposes a context for future developments, including Eurostrategic arms control addressing Eurostrategic problems.

The Western Alliance and the Polish crisis. World today, v. 38, Feb. 1982: 42-50.

MacGuigan, Mark.
Political consultations and the Alliance. NATO review, v. 29, Aug. 1981: 1-3.
Examines the objectives of political consultation among NATO countries and between NATO members and non-NATO states. Surveys the role consultation can play in the 1980s.

Madison, Christopher.
Crisis in foreign aid. National journal, v. 18, Sept. 20, 1986: 2236-2239, 2242-2243.
"The new Balanced Budget Act is forcing Congress to cut foreign aid spending this year, and the program faces a continued squeeze in future years."

Maiorano, Alan.
A fresh look at the Sixth Fleet. United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 110, Feb. 1984: 52-58.
"If NATO is to control the choke points of Gibraltar and the Turkish Straits, the Sixth Fleet and the Southern Region NATO navies . . . must participate in more multinational operations . . . ."

Makins, Christopher J.
TNF modernization and 'countervailing strategy.' Survival, v. 23, July-Aug. 1981: 157-164.

Mako, William P.
U.S. ground forces and the defense of Central Europe. Washington, Brookings Institution, c1983. 137 p.

Malone, Daniel K.
A realistic conventional deterrent. National defense, v. 67, July-Aug. 1982: 51-53.
The Director of the Armaments and Standardization Division of the U.S. Mission to NATO contends that "we are approaching a major breakthrough in, particularly, antiarmor weaponry, a breakthrough affecting technology, tactics, and doctrine, and the fundamental equations of politico-military affairs." He suggests that "the new NATO weaponry needed will find its success by destroying the Soviet ability to follow their doctrine, particularly as it affects what are commonly termed 'the second echelon forces.'"

ROLAND: a cause for or against NATO standardization? Washington, National Defense University, Research Directorate, 1980. 120 p. (National security affairs monograph series, 80-5)
Contents.--ROLAND, the NATO coalition and standardization.--The military requirement.--Establishing the rules.--Assembling the team.--Expectation versus realization.--Hoisting the mainsail; setting the jib.--Technology transfer: the view from the shop floor.--Could or should the United States adopt another weapon via the "two-way street" paved (or blazed) by ROLAND?--Historical retrospect.

Mangold, Eldon.
JFT-LOCE. National defense, v. 68, Dec. 1983: 48-49, 67-68.
Describes the Joint Tactical Fusion--Limited Operational Capability Europe (JTF-LOCE) and its deployment in NATO field commands. JTF-LOCE "automatically distributes sensor data to all interconnected parts of the system, correlates the sensor reports, develops and distributes battlefield situation displays, and develops and distributes target nominations."

Manpower issues for NATO: recruitment, retention, reserves. Belgium, North Atlantic Assembly, 1983. 94 p.
Contents.--General discussion.--Individual countries.--Special issues.--Concluding remarks.

Manwaring, Max C.
Spain and the defense of European security interests: a military capability analysis. Boulder, Colo, Westview Press, 1986.
This book will be available in 1987.

Marquina Barrio, Antonio.
NATO, the EEC, Gibraltar, North Africa: overlapping issues for Spain. International spectator, v. 21, Jan.-Mar. 1986: 43-46.
The issues of NATO Gibraltar, the EEC and North Africa is crucial to the "understanding of the Spanish defence position in a European and Western framework."

Martin, Laurence W.
NATO and the defense of the West: an analysis of America's first line of defense. New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, c1985. 159 p.

Martin, Richard C.
Warsaw Pact force modernization: a closer look. Parameters, v. 15, summer 1985: 3-11.
"The impact of lagging modernization is that the national armies rapidly are becoming less capable than their Soviet counterparts and less able to execute Soviet combined arms offensive doctrine." The article looks at the Polish, East German and Czechoslovak armies.

Mason, R. A.
Western deterrence: posture and rationale. Air University review, v. 33, May-June 1982: 2-10.
The author's objective is to summarize "the perceptions that have led to the adoption by the United Kingdom and NATO of the deterrence posture, explain the constituent parts of alliance deterrence, and make one or two observations on current issues: Trident, cruise missile, Pershing II, and the enhanced radiation weapon or neutron bomb."

Mason, Ronald.
Defence capabilities and new technologies. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 28, Feb.-Mar. 1983: 28, 31, 33-34.
"This article is primarily about how the application of modern technology may sustain or improve NATO's military position . . . . The technologies and evolving weapon systems have the potential to increase the flexibility, survivability and endurability of NATO's military response to aggression in a wide range of scenarios. To achieve these advantages, we must be prepared to move away from traditional investment patterns and outmoded weapon systems."

Matthews,R. G.
Europe's coming-of-age within NATO. Army quarterly and defence journal, v. 115, Oct. 1985: 391-398.
Discusses the notion of "a more militarily independent Europe" within as well as outside of the NATO context.

Maurer, John H. McCormick, Gordon H.
Surprise attack and conventional defense in Europe. Orbis, v. 27, spring 1983: 107-126.
"Examines the possible nature and implications of an unanticipated Soviet attack against the Central Front and explores some of the ways NATO might begin to minimize its present high vulnerability to this contingency."

Maynes, Charles William.
Lost opportunities. Foreign affairs, v. 64, no. 3, 1986: 413-434.
In this critical review of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy the author questions whether this administration's record represents a significant shift from the past and "to what degree do the changes it has brought about serve U.S. interests over both the short and long run?"

Ten years of foreign policy, by Charles William Maynes and Richard H. Ullman. Foreign policy, no. 40, fall 1980: 3-17.
"Surveys shifts in the international balance of power since the beginning of the 1970s. Also examines domestic constraints on the development of consistent and coherent U.S. foreign policies.

McCausland, Jeff.
Dual track or double paralysis? The politics of INF. Armed forces & society, v. 12, spring 1986: 431-452.
INF deployment was deemed necessary due to the achievement of strategic parity by the Soviet Union. "NATO states must realize that the only purpose for nuclear weapons is in their nonuse; consequently, the deployment issue was a battle that should not be repeated. The battle for ideas and Alliance unity, however--a requirement for the deployment--continues to be waged every day."

McCloy, John J.
The Atlantic Alliance: its origin and its future. New York, Distributed by Columbia University Press [1969] 83 p.
Benjamin F. Fairness memorial lectures, 1968.

McDonald, Wesley L.
An exclusive AFJ interview with: Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic; Commander-in-Chief, US Atlantic Command; Commander-in-Chief, US Atlantic Fleet. Armed Forces journal international, v. 122, Apr. 1985: 66, 68, 70, 72, 76.
This interview concentrates primarily on U.S. and NATO naval force structure, strength and deployment in the Atlantic Ocean.

McGeehan, Robert.
The Atlantic Alliance and the Reagan Administration. World today, v. 37, July-Aug. 1981: 254-262.

"While American guidance seemed to be forthcoming as Ronald Reagan assumed the mantle of leadership, questions persisted about where and in what cause America's allies were being led. The Reagan Administration's rhetoric had created a mood, but did it amount to a policy?"

Europe and America in the year of the missiles. International journal, v. 38, winter 1982-83: 147-162.

"The modernization of NATO's intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), . . . has become a focus of Soviet propaganda, a test of alliance solidarity, and a matter of acute domestic political concern in virtually every NATO member-state."

McGeoch, Ian.

NATO's maritime flank--the need for an allied command, Western approaches to Europe. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence studies], v. 130, Dec. 1985: 20-26.

"It is the purpose of this paper to show that a major reform of the existing maritime command structure of the NATO Alliance is both necessary and expedient."

McKinlay, R. D.

The aid relationship: a foreign policy model and interpretation of the distributions of official bilateral economic aid of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, 1960-1970. Comparative political studies, v. 11, Jan. 1979: 411-463.

McKinlay, R. D. Little, R.

A foreign policy model of U.S. bilateral aid allocation. World politics, v. 30, Oct. 1977: 58-86.

The US aid relationship: a test of the recipient need and the donor interest models, by R. D. McKinley and R. Little. Political studies, v. 27, June 1979: 236-250.

McKitrick, Myra Struck.

A conventional deterrent for NATO: an alternative to the nuclear balance of terror. Parameters, v. 13, Mar. 1983: 51-58.

There is an essential difference between 1953 and 1982 in the relationship between conventional and theater nuclear forces. "A realistic conventional deterrent for NATO exists only in the realm of speculation" argues the author.

McNamara, Robert S.

The military role of nuclear weapons: perceptions and misperceptions. Foreign affairs, v. 62, fall 1983: 59-80.

Former Secretary of Defense examines NATO's present nuclear strategy of "flexible response" and expounds his "own view on the military role of nuclear weapons." He concludes "that nuclear weapons serve no military purpose whatsoever. They are totally useless--except only to deter one's opponent from using them."

The military role of nuclear weapons: perceptions and misperceptions. Los Angeles, Center for International and Strategic Affairs, 1984. 41 p. (ACIS working paper no. 45)

Contents.--Introduction.--The evolution of NATO's present nuclear strategy.--The use of nuclear weapons.--Would not removal of the threat of first use of nuclear weapons by NATO increase the risk of war?--Is the high confidence conventional defense politically and financially feasible.--Conclusion.--Robert McNamara, question & answer session.

Meacham, James.

Nato: a two-step approach to deep strike. World today, v. 40, July 1984: 286-291.

"The Western alliance has within its grasp the beginnings of a revolution in conventional warfare. The improvement in accuracy of weapons that modern technology makes possible is so great that it constitutes an entirely new capability . . . . These systems have come to be known collectively as 'deep-strike' or ET (emerging technologies)."

NATO's central front. Economist, v. 300, Aug. 30, 1986: 3-22.
"The central front in Europe is the most highly militarised region in the world. Two million men from NATO and the Warsaw pact glare at each other across the bo-der that divides the two Germanies."
Contents.--If deterrence fails.--If push comes to shove.--The worst possible case?--Would it were dark.--What would happen next.--No place to hide.--The other dimension.--Keeping them out.--Can the line be held?

Mearsheimer, John J.
Maneuver, mobile defense, and the NATO central front. International security, v. 6, winter 1981-82: 104-122.

Nuclear weapons and deterrence in Europe. International security, v. 9, winter 1984-85: 19-46.
"The argument of this essay is that NFU no first use is a flawed idea. First the threat of nuclear escalation is a key element in the NATO deterrent equation which cannot be fully replaced by a significant improvement in NATO's conventional forces. Nuclear weapons, really are the ultimate deterrent . . . . An NFU policy would require a more formidable conventional deterrent; however, there is no reason to believe that NATO is going to improve significantly its conventional forces."

Why the Soviets can't win quickly in Central Europe. International security, v. 7, summer 1982: 3-39.
"The aim of this article is to examine closely the Soviets' prospects for effecting a blitzkrieg against NATO. In analyzing the matter, two closely related issues must be addressed. First, one must determine whether the Soviets have the force structure, the doctrine, and the raw ability to implement this strategy . . . . Secondly, when NATO's defense capabilities and the theater's terrain are considered, what then are the prospects for Soviet success?"

Menaul, Stewart.
NATO and ballistic missile defense. Global affairs, v. 1, summer 1986: 9-16.
"What NATO needs is an effective exoatmospheric, high endoatmospheric interception capability and terminal defense of high priority military targets. A good deal of the extensive research already completed by SDIO could be applied to a NATO defense system now, but much more research is needed."

NATO in the eighties: a war-winning strategy. [London, Institute for the Study of Conflict] 1980. 26 p. (Conflict studies, no. 117)
"As the decade ended with unabated Soviet expansionism the West's pursuit of detente and arms limitations was increasingly seen as illusory. Fulfilment of Soviet aims of neutralising US strategic superiority and interdicting sea lanes as means to dominate Europe depend on superior nuclear and conventional power. The USSR has now achieved this, so that NATO strategy relying on threat of escalation to the strategic level is no longer valid. The Soviet leaders have doctrine and forces for conducting war in Europe: NATO has neither."

Mendelsohn, Jack.
Wending our way to zero. Arms control today, v. 17, May 1987: 4-9.
Soviet acceptance of the zero option for European INF held out hope for a modest arms control agreement. Yet on both sides of the Atlantic the "zero option" has been considered to be contrary to the NATO's best interests.

Mertes, Alois.
East-West relations: the political dimension. NATO review, v. 33, Feb. 1985: 1-9.
The author states that "the East-West conflict is a political one . . . . It is thus important to clarify the debate in progress within our Allied countries on the question of the political nature of the Soviet threat, . . . it is what divides public opinion in the West on issues of disarmament and security."

Outlook for the Conference on Confidence Building and Disarmament in Europe. Aussenpolitik, v. 35, no. 1, 1984: 18-30.

"The conference provides an historic opportunity to arrive at more predictability and stability throughout Europe through concrete confidence building measures . . . . Our main aim for the first phase of the conference is therefore to make it clear that the participating countries pursue solely peaceful aims with their military potentials. The Stockholm conference therefore complements other arms control negotiations: It does not immediately plunge into an attempt to reduce the potentials . . . . Step by step, we want to develop the basis for ever further-reaching agreements."

What should be done to change NATO. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 22, summer 1984: 122-129.

The author, Minister of State, Bonn Foreign Office, critiques Henry Kissinger's "Plan to reshape NATO," (TIME, Mar. 5, 1984).

Messmer, William B.

If Labour wins. Foreign policy, no. 67, summer 1987: 137-153.

"If carried out after the next election or in the 1990s, Labour's position would hold disastrous potential for Western unity should Britain's allies, especially the United States, overreact. British nuclear disarmament would spawn questions about NATO's political integrity."

Military strategies for the future. Washington quarterly, v. 6, summer 1983: 49-98.

Contents.--Mutual arms reduction: an impossible dream?, by R. Kupperman.--Nuclear strategy: is there a future?, by C. Gray and K. Payne.--Strategy for survival, by A. Collins, Jr.--Crisis management in the alliance, by G. Schmuckle.--Strategic responses to nuclear proliferation, by R. Jones.

Millikan, Max F. Rostow, W. W.

A proposal: key to an effective foreign policy. Wesport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1976, c1957. 170 p.

Mitchell, Pat.

Increasing the combined operational effectiveness of NATO forces: the role of the Military Agency for Standardization. NATO review, v. 32, Mar. 1984: 16-19.

The Chairman of the Military Agency for Standardization describes the Agency's role in developing common tactical doctrine operational procedures, and military terminology.

Moore, John E.

NATO: at 35, again suffering from growing pains. Sea power, v. 27, Apr. 15, 1984: 68-70, 72, 77-79.

Examines "the elements which drew together the original twelve signatories only a little over 4 1/2 years after the end of the most destructive war ever known. A brief inspection of the situation which confronted them must, therefore, be of some value if today's problems are to be seen in their proper context."

Moore, John Norton.

The Constitution, foreign policy, and deterrence: the separation of powers in a dangerous world. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1986. 7 p. (Heritage lectures 82)

"The separation of powers is an important principle of the American democratic system. It is important, however, that, whatever the precise constitutional parameters of the foreign affairs powers, Congress should exercise its power with a realistic understanding of the rationale strongly favoring executive control of foreign policy."

Moore, Robert A.

Theatre nuclear forces: thinking the unthinkable. International defense review, v. 14, no. 4, 1981: 401-408.

Describes deficiencies in NATO's tactical nuclear force (TNF) posture in light of the Soviet TNF modernization program.

Morony, Thomas.

Allies are different. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 24, summer 1986: 125-131.

Considers reasons for tensions in the alliance: "NATO is an alliance of 16 free, independent, and democratic countries; . . . and there is a real distinction between the world ally and that other world friend . . . . In fact, and paradoxically, NATO is at its most uncomfortable precisely when its effectiveness as a deterrent is at its best."

Morrocco, John D.
Allies approach agreement on joint ATM programs. Aviation week & space technology, v. 126, June 29, 1987: 18-20.
"The U.S. and its Western European allies have come closer to agreement on a collaborative antitactical missile (ATM) program"--antitactical ballistic missiles (ARBM).

Mujal-Leon, Eusebio.
Rei(g)ning in Spain. Foreign policy, no. 51, summer 1983: 101-117.
"By remaining firm in its support for Spain at a time when the country is in political and economic transition, the United States can strengthen its relationship with a country whose strategic and political importance will only increase during the 1980s and whose democratic institutions can set a powerful, new example in the Mediterranean and Latin America."

Murdoch, James C. Sandler, Todd.
Complementarity, free riding, and the military expenditures of NATO allies. Journal of Public economics, v. 25, Nov. 1984: 83-101.
"This paper examines the major influences of an ally's demand for military expenditures. Demand equations are estimated for a sample of NATO nations using the iterative, seemingly unrelated regressions technique. Evidence is presented indicating that structural changes occurred in these equations in the early 1970s. This instability is the predicted effect of the doctrine of flexible response, adopted by NATO during this time period. The statistical tests show that the medium-sized nuclear powers' military expenditures responded identicially to income and defense spending; the same held true for the lowland allies."

Myer, Allan A.
The balance in Central Europe: reflections through the Soviet prism. Naval War College review, v. 33, Nov.-Dec. 1980: 15-43.
"This paper, presented at the 1980 meeting of the International Studies Association, discusses the Soviet view of the balance in central Europe and offers some recommendations to NATO."

Myers, Norman.
Not far afield: U.S. interests and the global environment. Washington, World Resources Institute, 1987. 73 p.
Considers the relationship of critical issues in world environment, natural resources, and population to U.S. economic, ecological, and national security interests.

National Security Affairs Conference, 7th, National Defense University, 1980.
Rethinking US security policy for the 1980s. Washington, National Defense University, 1980. 334 p.
Contents.--Evolving relations between the United States, the Soviet Union, and China.--The Western alliance, Japan, and international security threats.--Rethinking essential equivalence.--Emerging security issues in the "arc of crisis."--Advanced technology and US national security problems.

National Security Affairs Conference, 8th, National Defense University, 1981.
The 1980s: decade of confrontation? Washington, National Defense University, 1981. 312 p.
Partial contents.--The US and the USSR: is confrontation inevitable?--The Middle East and Southwest Asia: what strategies for the US?--Central America and the Caribbean: cockpit of big power conflict?--NATO and the Warsaw Pact: can internal differences be managed?--Global terrorism: what should the US do?

NATO and the Warsaw Pact: a combat assessment. Edited by Richard A. Gabriel. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1983. 252 p.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact: force comparisons. Brussels, NATO Information Service, 1984. 51 p.
Contents.--Introduction.--Conventional forces.--Regional considerations.--Nuclear deterrence and the nuclear equation.--NATO and Warsaw Pact defence/military expenditure.--Military production and technology capabilities.

NATO at 30: a symposium on the future of the alliance. Washington, Atlantic Council of the United States, 1979. 38 p. (Policy papers)

NATO debates 3% defense boost. Aviation week & space technology, v. 113, Dec. 8, 1980: 14-16.

NATO in the 1980s: challenges and responses. Edited by Linda P. Brady and Joyce P. Kaufman. New York, Praeger, 1985. 274 p.

NATO: reshaping the Alliance--economics, politics portend shifts. Aviation week & space technology, v. 120, May 21, 1984: 50-51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63.

"Factors at play within the organization are contributing to reexamination strategy, doctrine, and force structure.

NATO, the next 30 years. Washington quarterly, v. 2, autumn 1979: 3-53.

Four major contributions presented at a conference "organized by CSIS and co-sponsored by the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs and the Atlantic Treaty Organization, held at the Palais d`Eqmont in Brussels on September 1-3."

Contents.--The future of NATO, by H. Kissinger.--Social change and the defense of the West, by M. Howard.--American foreign policy: the changing political universe, by S. Huntington.--Does NATO exist? by I. Kristol.

NATO, the next thirty years: the changing political, economic, and military setting. Edited by Kenneth A. Myers. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press; London, Croom Helm, 1980. 469 p.

NATO. time for a change. END: Journal of European nuclear disarmament, no. 13, Dec. 1984-Jan. 1985: 15-23.

"Christie, a retired Norwegian general, explains why he thinks the time has come for a reassessment of NATO's structure and doctrine."

NATO today: the alliance in evolution; a report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 102 p.

At head of title: 97th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print, Item 1039-A, 1039-B.

Nau, Henry R.

Trade & deterrence. National interest, no. 7, spring 1987: 48-60.

Argues that a sharp swing toward a more open U.S. East-West trade policy "would not only be ill-advised, but would almost certainly occasion new misunderstandings and conflicts with the allies." Calls for a "more discriminating policy, based on the logic of deterrence. Such a policy would consistently deny strategic trade with the Soviet Union to protect Western defense assets, while permitting non-subsidized, market-determined levels of non-strategic trade to foster communications and dialogue with the Soviet Union."

NATO's armies. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 30, no. 1, 1985: whole issue (140 p.)

Partial contents.--The Canadian air-sea transportable brigade group.--Land defence of isthmus and islands.--The territorial defence of France.--The Norwegian mobilisation system.--Spanish army modernisation.--NATO's southern flank.

Nelson, Daniel N. Lepgold, Joseph.

Alliances and burden-sharing: a NATO-Warsaw Pact comparison. Defense analysis, v. 2, Sept. 1986: 205-224.

Compares "national defense efforts within the two superpower alliances across two distinct sets of measures between 1972 and 1982."

Nerlich, Uwe.

Change in Europe: a secular trend? Daedalus, v. 110, winter 1981: 71-103.

Surveys Soviet objectives in Western Europe and changes in Western Europe throughout the 1970s, consonant with those objectives. Analyzes U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union and Atlantic alliance relationships. Contends that the United States and Western Europe must develop a more global common outlook, a common answer to the problem of how to deal with the Soviet Union, and new arrangements for joint policy-making.

Missile defences: strategic and tactical. Survival, v. 27, May-June 1985: 119-127.

Raises some fundamental issues about the viability and desirability of NATO strategy to counter Soviet intermediate range ballistic missiles.

Theatre nuclear forces in Europe: is NATO running out of options? Washington quarterly, v. 3, winter 1980: 100-125.

"At stake is the alliance's capacity to act multilaterally on virtually any major nuclear defense issue . . . . Thus in one sense it is mandatory for NATO to reach an early force-structure decision in late 1979 that will eventually allow deployment of long-range theatre nuclear capabilities in Western Europe."

Neuman, H. J.

Nuclear forces in Europe and their implication for Northeast Asia. In Northeast Asian and European relations: new dimensions and strategies. Taipei, Taiwan, Asia and World Institute, 1984. p. 62-74.

Discusses the US/NATO policies of nuclear forces modernization and arms control negotiations concentrating on "the geographical scope of the negotiations and the inclusion (or exclusion) of 'Third Country' nuclear forces."

New technology and Western security policy. Edited by Robert O'Neill. Hamden, Conn., Archon Books, c1985. 178 p.

Papers presented at the 26th annual Conference of the International Institute for Strategic Studies held at Avignon, France, 1981.

New technology for NATO: implementing follow-on force attack. Washington, U.S. Office of Technology Assessment, 1987. 231 p.

"OTA-ISC-309"

Newhouse, John.

Arms and allies. New Yorker, v. 59, Feb. 28, 1983: 64-70, 73-74, 76, 78, 80-81.

Reviews the concerns underlying the decision by NATO to deploy additional intermediate range nuclear missiles in Western Europe unless progress is made in arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union regarding intermediate nuclear forces in Europe. Discusses the political implications of deploying the missiles in NATO and the effects of cancelling the deployment. Considers the Reagan administration's approach to arms control. Reviews the informal negotiations between Paul Nitze and Uli Kvitsinsky in the summer of 1982, discusses U.S. rejection of the Nitze-Kvitsinsky understanding, and considers the effects of this episode on perceptions of the Reagan Administration's arms control policies.

Nitze, Paul H.

Strategy in the decade of the 1980s. Foreign affairs, v. 59, fall 1980: 82-101.

The author outlines "an approach to a more coherent Western strategy" by offering "some comments on basic concepts, on the evolution of the correlation of forces, and on Soviet strategy."

North Atlantic Assembly. Special Committee on Nuclear Weapons in the Atlantic Alliance.

Report . . . to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington, G.P.O., 1985. 152 p. (Print, Senate, 98th Congress, 2nd session, committee print S. Prt. 98-265)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact: force comparisons. [Brussels], [NATO], 1982. 46 p.

Nuclear weapons and arms control. Survival, v. 26, Jan.-Feb. 1984: 32-38.

Contents.--President Reagan's speech to United Nations General Assembly (excerpts) 26 September 1983.--Pravda editorial on President Reagan's INF proposals (excerpts) 4 October 1983.--Czechoslovak Government statement on missile deployment agreement (excerpts) 24 October 1983.--General Secretary Andropov's answers to questions by Pravda (excerpts) 27 October 1983.--NATO Nuclear Planning Group: Communique (excerpts) 5 November 1983.

Nuclear weapons and NATO. F.A.S. public interest report, v. 39, May 1986: whole issue (12 p.)

Examines such issues as first use of nuclear weapons; NATO's nuclear deterrent; the extinction of conventional warfare in Europe; and deciding future options.

Nuclear weapons and the Atlantic Alliance. Foreign affairs, v. 60, spring 1982: 753-768.

McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara, and Gerard Smith advocate that the U.S. and its NATO allies pledge not to use nuclear weapons against an attack by Soviet conventional forces in Europe, thus repudiating the "first use" policy which has been an option of NATO strategy for more than three decades.

Nuclear weapons in Europe. New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1984. 118 p. (Europe/America; 1)

Contents.--Introduction, by A. Pierre.--The struggle for Europe: an American view, by W. Hyland.--U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe: symbols, strategy and force structure, by L. Freedman.--The illusion of NATO's nuclear defense, by P. Warnke.--Nuclear weapons in Europe: a German social democrat's perspective, by K. Voigt.

Nuechterlein, Donald E.

Convergence and divergence in the North Atlantic relationship. World today, v. 39, May 1983: 164-170.

"The year 1982 produced a serious re-evaluation by all Nato member states of their national interests--of military and economic ties between Western Europe and North America, on the one hand, and relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on the other."

The widening Atlantic. Foreign Service journal, v. 61, Sept. 1984: 37-41.

"Rough seas are ahead for NATO as the European allies leave the United States' wake and set a more independent course . . . . The divergence in U.S. and Western European views over NATO policies results from differing perceptions of their interests."

Nunn, Sam.

NATO challenges and opportunities: a three-track approach. NATO review, v. 35, June 1987: 1-8.

U.S. Senator and Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee states that "for nearly four decades, NATO has kept the peace in Europe. The United States has played a vital role in this peacekeeping effort, and has also been a principal beneficiary . . . . We cannot, however, take NATO or the deterrence of war for granted. If we are to preserve peace into the next century and beyond, NATO must make hard decisions about the essential elements of its security policy."

NATO: saving the alliance. Washington quarterly, v. 5, summer 1982: 19-29.

"There is a growing consensus that less reliance should be placed on use of nuclear weapons in response to a conventional Warsaw Pact attack, but there is a widespread feeling that a viable non-nuclear defense is not attainable. This paradox, coupled with political and economic differences within the alliance, is causing frustration in the United States and is threatening the very fabric of the alliance itself."

Nye, Joseph S., Jr.

U.S. power and Reagan policy. Orbis, v. 26, summer 1982: 391-411.

The author warns "there is a danger that some of the Reagan administration's efforts to reverse the short-term causes of the decline in relative U.S. power may be diverting attention and resources from the measures needed to cope with the longer-term situations."

O'Leary, James P.

Can NATO survive Eurocommunism? International security review, v. 5, spring 1980: 73-90.

An attempt to assess "the extent to which Eurocommunism has departed from traditional Marxism-Leninism and what its rise portends for the Atlantic Alliance."

Rethinking NATO's economic strategy. Journal of contemporary studies, v. 6, winter 1983: 51-64.

"This article outlines several areas of potential cooperation and consultation among the Allies that do not presuppose complete harmony of views as to the nature of the Soviet problems or tactical measures to deal with that problem. Emphasis will be placed on informal consultation and collaboration, often outside the formal NATO framework, rather than on grandiose designs for formally revitalizing NATO or expanding the Alliance commitment to include new economic concerns."

Of Rifts and drifts: a symposium on beliefs, opinions, and American foreign policy. International studies quarterly, v. 30, Dec. 1986: 373-484.
Contents.--Consensus lost. Consensus regained? Foreign policy beliefs of American leaders, 1976-1980, by Ole R. Holsti and James N. Rosenau.--The right consensus? Holsti and Rosenau's new foreign policy belief surveys, by Thomas Ferguson.--On the foreign policy beliefs of the American people: a critique and some evidence, by Eugene R. Wittkopf.

Olgey, Gary A.
NATO standardization and interoperability versus US army field logistics policies. Joint perspectives, v. 2, summer 1981: 3-15.
"It is concluded that there is a dichotomy between weapons modernization and logistics doctrine with regard to NATO standardization and interoperability. An emphasis on weapons acquisition may preclude progress in logistics."

Olson, Eric T.
NATO burden-sharing: a new look needed. Military review, v. 63, Nov. 1983: 12-20.
"The development of an equitable method for determining shares of NATO Alliance costs is a complex task. The author predicts that a variety of factors will focus future attention on this area and bring about changes. He sees an 'output-oriented' system as the best means for meeting the needs of all parties concerned."

Olson, Mancur, Jr. Zeckhauser, Richard.
An economic theory of alliances. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1966. 38 p. (Memorandum RM-4297-ISA)
"Research . . . sponsored by the Department of Defense, under contract SD-300, monitored by the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs)."

Osgood, Robert E.
The revitalization of containment. Foreign affairs, v. 60, no. 3, 1982: 465-502.
Briefly reviews the oscillations of U.S. foreign policy since World War II. Surveys the Reagan administration's foreign policies. Considers the centrality of containment in Reagan's policies. Discusses the defense budget, military policies for the defense of NATO, including arms control; U.S. relations with NATO allies, China and Japan; and policies toward developing countries.

Oswald, J. J. R. McKendrick, R.
Flexible response--is there an alternative? RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies] v. 131, Mar. 1986: 20-25.
"This article addresses the question as to whether there is a realistic alternative to NATO's current flexibility in response. It briefly sketches the development of NATO's strategy, outlines the threads of the present debate, reviews alternative proposals and highlights some of the difficulties that these present."

Ott, George.
Geopolitics for an uncertain era. Air University review, v. 33, Sept.-Oct. 1982: 29-35.
Reviews the widening rift between the U.S. and its allies in Western Europe and Japan, resulting from the relative decline in U.S. economic and political strength, and the increasing fragmentation of the international economy along regional lines. Considers the prospects for and advantages of regional economic integration in the Western Hemisphere. Examines the alliance system in the Western Hemisphere, formalized by the creation of the Organization of American States, and explores the possibility of developing that alliance into a security arrangement similar to NATO. Contends: "Should circumstances dictate that the United States withdraw from its transoceanic positions, Washington would have almost no other alternative than to sponsor a similar security arrangement in the Americas."

Owen, David.
Anglo-French nuclear cooperation. World today, v. 41, Aug.-Sept. 1985: 158-161.

"The two nuclear-weapon states in Europe owe it to themselves and Europe to put their act together a good deal more comprehensively than hitherto on both nuclear and conventional deterrent strategy."

A new defence dynamic for Europe in NATO. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 29, Sept.-Oct. 1984: 19-20, 23-24.

"Dr. Owen argues the case for a strong European defence identity within the NATO framework based on powerful conventional defences and real industrial cooperation. Europe's greater weight in defence councils will, however, have to be backed by meeting its full conventional and nuclear obligations."

Palmer, John.
Europe without America?: the crisis in Atlantic relations. Oxford; New York, Oxford University Press, 1987.

This book will be available in 1987.

Pannenberg, Wolfhart.
A perplexed ally. Worldview, v. 23, Dec. 1980: 21-23.

"Now more than ever Western Europe remains dependent on American leadership. Success or failure of U.S. foreign policy inevitably becomes Europe's own," argues the author in conclusion.

Park, William.
Defending the West: a history of NATO. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1986. 242 p.

Pattie, Geoffrey E.
Public opinion and alliance security. Strategic review, v. 10, spring 1982: 71-79.

"Some of the strident anti-nuclear and anti-American sounds in the Alliance, particularly as they are manifested in the various 'peace' movements, are the echoes of a massive and cynical Soviet propaganda offensive. Yet, at the center of this increasingly critical problem is a conspicuous failure by NATO and its member governments to convey to the publics a convincing picture of the Alliance's deterrent strategy, with emphasis on the role of that strategy's nuclear components."

Western security beyond the NATO area. Strategic review, v. 12, spring 1984: 39-43.

"There has been a reluctance on the part of the Alliance members to consider the collectivity of their interests beyond the narrowly defined NATO Treaty Area . . . . The least that is encumbent upon the Alliance is a greatly improved consultative process--one that also features tightened interaction among the relevant components of the members governments. The process, however, has to be a two-way street: while those NATO members with the ability to act in specific circumstances abroad must shoulder the responsibility of consulting their allies to the maximum extent practicable, the latter cannot then stand apart with the presense that the given action has nothing to do with them"

Payne, Keith B. Gray, Colin S.
Nuclear policy and the defensive transition. Foreign affairs, v. 62, spring 1984: 820-842.

The authors examine the role ballistic missile defense is expected to play in U.S. military strategy, the effect a commitment to strategic defense would have on stability, the role of strategic offensive forces during and after the development of a ballistic missile defense program, and how the European allies would react to a U.S. ballistic missile defense policy. They also consider Soviet policy concerning ballistic missile defense, Soviet response to a U.S. ballistic missile defense policy, and the arms control implications of such a U.S. policy.

Pechman, Joseph A., ed.
Setting national priorities: agenda for the 1980s. Washington, Brookings Institution [1980] 563 p.

Partial contents.--Economic policy, by B. Bosworth.--World economic interdependence, by R. Bryant and L. Krause.--Energy, by H. Landsberg.--Intergovernmental fiscal relations, by C. Break.--Defense policy, by W. Kaufmann.--The Middle East, by W. Quandt.--The Soviet challenge, by H. Sonnenfeldt.--The China connection, by K. Lieberthal.--The Japan relationship, by P. Trezise.--North-South relations, by J. Sewell and J. Mathieson.

Perle, Richard.
Reflections on the evolution of the alliance. Armed Forces journal international, v. 124, Mar. 1987: 30-32, 36.
Assistant Secretary for Defense presents his views on the NATO alliance.

NATO at 35: strong & resilient. Defense/85, Jan. 1985: 16-21.
"Important issues face the alliance, but they are not divisive & should not obscure our fundamental commitment to Europe & NATO."

NATO needs candor. Wall Street journal, Feb. 6, 1987: 20.

NATO's southern flank. Defense issues, v. 2, no. 24, 1987: 1-4.
In this Apr. 1, 1987 statement before the House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security examines the U.S.-security relationship with Spain, Portugal, Turkey and Greece.

Petersen, Nikolaj.
Bargaining power among potential allies: negotiating the North Atlantic Treaty, 1948-49. Review of international studies, v. 12, July 1986: 187-203.
"The article has two principal objectives: first to elaborate on the contents of the 'bargaining power' concept, and secondly to probe its usefulness in an empirical analysis of what can be termed a non-antagonistic or cooperative negotiation context, namely the negotiations over the North Atlantic Treaty between the United States, Canada, Britain, France and the Benelux countries in 1948-49."

Who pulled whom and how much? Britain, the United States and the making of the North Atlantic Treaty. Millennium, v. 11, June 1982: 93-114.
Suggests that the North Atlantic Treaty was "the creation of an initial coalition based on perceived common interests between an important, and eventually dominant group in the State Department and the British Government, which was later joined by other segments of the U.S. policy-making system and by other governments."

Peterson, Philip A.
Iceland--is a red storm rising? International defense review, v. 20, no. 8, 1987: 1007-1011.

Pfaff, William.
Perils of policy: the Marshall Plan only worked once. Harper's magazine, v. 274, May 1987: 70-72.
Argues that the Marshall Plan "was a great success at supplying capital and investment to people starved for both, and fully capable of putting the money to work . . . . The Marshall Plan financed Western Europe's return to normality. It did not sponsor its progress to some new stage in economic or political development." Given this, there is no reason to believe that similar plans for parts of the Third World will lead to accelerated economic development along with a parallel evolution toward stable western-style political democracies. In fact it is more likely that "rapid economic development in non-western states tends to produce social crisis."

Pisano, Vittorfranco S.
Euroterrorism and NATO. [S.l.] International Association of Chiefs of Police [1985] 6 p.
"The term 'Euroterrorism' has been coined to describe . . . the ostensible pooling of resources and joint selection of target clusters by West European terrorist formations of the Marxist-Leninist left." Addresses the nature, degree of cohesion, and potential viability of Euroterrorism.

Podhoretz, Norman.
Appeasement by any other name. Commentary, v. 76, July 1983: 25-38.

Poettering, Hans-Gert.
Germany's and France's interest in a European security policy. Aussenpolitik, v. 37, no. 2, 176-186.

"Potential developments in Western Europe have resulted in numerous calls for a thoroughly planned European security and defence policy--not in opposition to but in close coordination with America--which would make Western Europe the second pillar, alongside America, of the Western Alliance."

A new European security policy? Aussenpolitik, v. 36, 1985: 147-156.

The author contends that the emancipation of Europe "gnaws at the foundations of the Alliance" and that "only a meshing of America's strategic, tactical nuclear and conventional forces in Europe can ensure West European security."

Politics and security in the southern region of the Atlantic alliance. Edited by Douglas T. Stuart. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

This book will be available in 1987.

Portugal, Spain and transatlantic relations: summary of a transatlantic dialogue. Cambridge, Mass., Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1983. 18 p.

Contents.--Spanish and Portuguese armed forces.--Spain and the Alliance: current issues.--Portugal and the Alliance: current issues.

Posen, Barry R. VanEvera, Stephen W.
Overarming and underwhelming. Foreign policy, no. 40, fall 1980: 99-118.

Suggests that reforms of U.S. military strategy and force posture should precede defense budget increases. Recommends improving combat readiness, prepositioning more equipment in Europe, shifting more army manpower from support to combat roles, and reforming U.S. weapon design practices. Contends that reforms and improvements by NATO allies would do more to redress the European balance than U.S. reforms.

Power and policy: doctrine, the alliance and arms control. Part I. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1986. 72 p. (Adelphi papers no. 205)

Contents.--NATO's strategy: an undervalued currency, by Bernard W. Rogers.--Strategic choices: their roles in NATO's defence planning and force modernizations: Part I, by James A. Thomson.--Strategic choices: their roles in NATO's defence planning and force modernizations: Part II, by Francois Heisbourg.--The roles of strategic and theatre nuclear forces in NATO strategy: Part I, by Bernard Jackson.--The roles of strategic and theatre nuclear forces in NATO strategy: Part II, by Leon Sloss.

Power and policy: doctrine, the Alliance and arms control, part III. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1986. 76 p. (Adelphi papers 207)

Contents.--Strategic choices and alliance cohesion, by Richard R. Burt.--NATO doctrine and national operational priorities: the central front and the flanks: part I, by Philip A. Karber.--NATO doctrine and national operational priorities: the central front and the flanks: part II, by Peter Stratmann.--Problems of over-extension: reconciling NATO defence and out-of-area contingencies: part I, by Anthony Farrar-Hockley.--Problems of over-extension: reconciling NATO defence and out-of-area contingencies: part II, by Robert W. Komer.--Summing-up, by Robert O'Neill.

The President's choice: Star Wars or arms control. Foreign affairs, v. 63, winter 1984-1985: 264-278.

"Sharing the gravest reservations about this undertaking [Strategic Defense Initiative] and believing that unless it is radically constrained during the next four years it will bring vast new costs and dangers to our country and to mankind, we [McGeorge Bundy, George Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith] think it urgent to offer an assessment of the nature and hazards of this initiative, to call for the closest vigilance by Congress and the public, even to invite the victorious President to reconsider."

Prestor, Paul.
Spain, the EEC, and NATO. London, Boston, Routledge & K. Paul [for] the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1984. 96 p. (Chatham House papers, 22)

Priorities in U.S. defense policy. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1979. 36 p. (AEI foreign policy and defense review, v. 1, no. 3)

"Essays by Maxwell D. Taylor, Lloyd Norman, and Steven L. Canby--all established experts in military affairs--suggest both disagreement and consensus about the ranking of priorities in American defense policy. Their views on U.S. strategic and conventional force needs reflect continuing debate among military leaders and thinkers about the security challenges the United States is most--and least--likely to face in the years ahead, and about the specific preparations needed to meet the ones most urgent."

The Public and the Atlantic defense. Edited by Gregory Flynn and Hans Rattinger. London and Canberra, Rowman & Allanheld, c1985. 398 p.

Pym, Francis.
Defense in democracies: the public dimension. International security, v. 7, summer 1982: 40-44.

The British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Minister of Overseas Development writes that "there is a totally convincing intellectual and moral justification for the West's defense posture, in all its aspects, including nuclear capability. But Western leaders are not explaining it enough."

Quayle, Dan.
NATO and the economic recession; report of Senator Dan Quayle to the Committee on Armed Services, United States Senate. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 18 p.

Quester, George H.
Dilemmas of common deterrence. Political science quarterly, v. 101, 1986: 733-752.

"Considers some trends and paradoxes about common deterrence as it has taken the place of common defense and examines the credibility of the United States extending a 'nuclear umbrella' to protect its close allies."

The superpowers and the Atlantic alliance. Daedalus, v. 110, winter 1981: 23-40.

Explores the extent to which Western European confidence in the U.S. commitment to the defense of Europe is affected by the erosion of the U.S. strategic advantage and by decreased European confidence in U.S. foreign policy decision making.

Radway, Laurence.
Let Europe be Europe. World policy journal, v. 1, fall 1983: 23-43.

Discusses the question of U.S. involvement in European defense, explores Soviet intentions, and argues for the gradual withdrawal of American forces from Europe.

Raj, Christopher S.
American military in Europe: controversy over NATO burden sharing. New Delhi, ABC Pub. House, 1983. 380 p.

The President and formulation of US national security policy: a case study. IDSA [Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses] bulletin, v. 12, Apr.-June 1980: 393-423.

Contends that the President has a pre-eminent role in national security policy and that in order to continue as members of the President's decision-making team, the bureaucracy assimilates the President's national security objectives. Explores this hypothesis in the context of Nixon's decision against the withdrawal of American troops from Western Europe.

Rallo, Joseph C.
Defending Europe in the 1990s: the new divide of high technology. London, F. Pinter, 1986. 136 p. (Studies in international political economy)

Ranger, Robin.
NATO's new great debate: theatre nuclear force modernization and arms control. International journal, v. 36, summer 1981: 556-574.

This paper "summarizes the reasons why NATO's TNF modernization decision was strategically necessary but politically difficult, and it assesses the prospects for theatre nuclear arms control." It also considers the implications of deploying enhanced radiation warheads, commonly known as neutron weapons, in Europe.

Rasiulis, Andrew P.
The conventional leg of NATO's deterrent triad: where do we go from here? Canadian defence quarterly, v. 16, autumn 1986: 17-18, 20-22, 24.
Analyzes the status and adequacy of NATO's conventional force posture in a threefold manner: "first, review the debate on conventional defence; second, examine the results; and third, determine, to the degree possible, what should be realistically expected in the near to mid future in terms of NATO's strategic policy."

Ravenal, Earl C.
Counterforce and alliance: the ultimate connection. International security, v. 6, spring 1982: 26-43.
"It is its adherence to alliance commitments that skews the United States' strategy toward counterforce weapons and targeting and warps American doctrines of response toward the first use of nuclear weapons, prejudicing crisis stability and increasing the likelihood of escalation to nuclear war."

NATO: the tides of discontent. Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, University of California, c1985. 94 p.

No first use: a view from the United States. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 39, Apr. 1983: 11-16.
"What are the implications of a No-First-Use declaration for the United States' commitment to the defense of Europe? The author argues for a fundamental reexamination of the NATO posture of collective defense."

The price and perils of NATO. In Beyond the status quo: policy proposals for America. Edited by David Boaz and Edward H. Crane. Washington, Cato Institute, c1985. p. 111-143.
"The factors of cost and risk are inevitable components of any assessment of America's role in the defense of Europe, and they are the most formidable reasons that could be presented for American withdrawal from Europe. It may be unpleasant to inquire about the problems of NATO from an American viewpoint; and it may seem crass to weigh those problems primarily on the grounds of cost to Americans. Yet cost (underlying the political pique voiced by conservative Americans at the Europeans, and traded off against the risk involved in holding our nuclear umbrella over our European allies) will decide the future of NATO. And that future will be disposed primarily within the American political, economic, and social process."

Reagan, Ronald.
American foreign policy challenges in the 1980s. Dept. of State bulletin, v. 84, May 1984: 1-6.

Reagan II: appraisal & prognosis. American spectator, v. 18, Feb. 1985: 12-29.

Reagan's leadership and the Atlantic alliance: views from Europe and America. Edited by Walter Goldstein. Washington, Pergamon-Brassey, c1986. 209 p.
"Developed with the support of the Standing Conference of Atlantic Organizations," papers presented at the 13th Annual Meeting of the Standing Conference of Atlantic Organizations, Wingspread House, Racine, Wisc., July 1985, sponsored by the Johnson Foundation and the Information Directorate of NATO."

Realism, strength, negotiation: key foreign policy statements of the Reagan Administration. Washington, U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1984. 154 p.
Partial contents.--Human rights.--United Nations.--Western Hemisphere.--World economy.

Record, Jeffrey.
The Europeanization of NATO: a restructured commitment for the 1980s. Air University review, v. 33, Sept.-Oct. 1982: 23-28.

Proposes "the eventual application of the Nixon Doctrine to Europe, whereby our allies would assume full responsibility for their own defense on the ground amidst the continued presence of robust American naval, air, and, of course, theater nuclear forces."

France 1940 and the NATO Center 1980: a disquieting comparison. Strategic review, v. 7, summer 1980: 67-74.

Draws parallels between NATO's current defensive posture and the Western defenders in Europe in 1940. Criticizes the maldeployment of NATO forces, contending that they are not deployed opposite the Warsaw Pacts's principal concentration of forces.

MBFR: an idea whose time has gone? Armed Forces journal international, v. 118, Oct. 1980: 26-27, 30-32, 77.

NATO's theater nuclear force modernization program: the real issues. Cambridge, Mass., Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1981. 102 p. (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. Special report)

Contents.--Introduction.--NATO's present theater nuclear force posture.--The eroding theater nuclear balance.--The modernization program.--Toward a truly credible theater nuclear force posture.

Should America pay for Europe's security? Washington quarterly, v. 5, winter 1982: 19-23.

"The fundamental issue is whether NATO is still prepared to meet the military challenges that gave birth to the alliance, challenges as ominous today as they were in 1949. If not, the United States is likely to be compelled, by the dictates of sound strategy and domestic political pressures, to undertake fundamental alterations in the nature of its postwar military engagement in Europe."

U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe: issues and alternatives. Washington, Brookings Institution, [1974] 70 p.

U.S. strategy at the crossroads: two views, by Jeffrey Record and Robert Hanks. Cambridge, Mass., Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1982. 72 p. (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. Foreign policy report)

Contents.--Beyond NATO: new military directions for the United States, by Jeffrey Record.--Toward a new national strategy for the United States, by R. Hanks.

Reed, Fred.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Washington times, Jan. 15, 1985. 4A.

Reed, Jean D.

NATO's theater nuclear forces: a coherent strategy for the 1980s. Washington, National Defense University Press, 1983. 79 p. (National security affairs monograph series 83-8)

Contents.--NATO's nuclear strategy--a search for meaning.--Flexible response, credible deterrence, and escalation control.--To implement a strategy.

Reid, Escott.

The miraculous birth of the North Atlantic Alliance. NATO review, v. 28, Dec. 1980: 12-18.

Ambassador Reid's account of the negotiations of the North Atlantic Treaty as seen from Canada.

Strengthening the North Atlantic Alliance. International perspectives, Nov.-Dec. 1985: 3-6.

The author claims that "misconceptions about the obligations of members of the North Atlantic Alliance under the Washington treaty of 1949 are so widespread that they greatly weaken the Alliance. The existence of some obligations is ignored. Obligations are invented which are contrary to obligations set forth in the treaty . . . . An urgent task for a strengthened Alliance is to seek an agreement with the Soviet Union for the renunciation of the first-use of nuclear weapons and of Star Wars programs."

Reychler, L. Rudney, R.
Towards a more efficient organization of European security and defense thinking. Studia diplomatica, v. 36, no. 3, 1983: 289-310.
Examines the increasing need for more coordinated research on European security in Western Europe to improve the defense decisionmaking process, and the need for more defense research centers.

Rielly, John E.
America's state of mind. Foreign policy, no. 66, spring 1987: 39-56.
"Foreign-policy problems have more than doubled in importance for the American people in the last 8 years."

Rich, Michael D.
Cost and schedule implications of multinational coproduction. Defense management journal, v. 20, no. 2, 1984: 3-8.
"In weighing the pros and cons of a multinational coproduction effort, decision-makers must look beyond the accounting ledger's bottom line . . . . Multinational coproduction of a major weapon system is a delicate and complex undertaking, the outcome of which is largely determined by the distinctive capabilities and industrial milieu of each participant."

Richardson, Elliot L.
Requirements of defence and deterrence in the 1980s. NATO review, v. 30, June 1982: 8-11.
Reviews the necessity of maintaining the NATO triad of strategic nuclear, tactical nuclear, and conventional forces, in light of Soviet military posture and foreign policies. Discusses the importance of NATO tactical nuclear forces in deterring conflict. Contends that "many sincere people have, unfortunately, focused their attention on the potential effects of nuclear weapons, without seriously considering the deterrent role they have successfully played for decades. It is clear that, in view of Soviet conventional superiority, NATO nuclear forces will have to continue to play a significant role in deterring possible Soviet threats against Europe or political pressure in a crisis."

Richardson, Phillip A.
Logistics tasks in NATO: a central region perspective. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 28, Feb.-Mar. 1983: 60-64.
"Lieutenant Colonel Phillip A. Richardson stresses the importance of coordination between member nations in order to achieve a state of readiness and sustainability. With the attitude that 'it is better to fight these battles now than be forced to report "not quite sure enough" in war' he also pinpoints shortcomings and important future tasks for the logisticians in NATO."

Ries, Tomas.
Defending the Far North. International defense review, v. 17, July 1984: 873-880.
Examines the indirect military presence of the Soviet power on the Nordic states due to the Soviet strategic buildup on the Kola Peninsula.

Ritter, Klaus.
The critical issue of the transfer of technology. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 30, June-July 1985: 39-40, 42, 44-45.
Notes that Western European countries and Japan rely to a considerable degree on the Soviet Union to sell their technologies while high technology trade between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. is irrelevant. Points out that the tightening system of export controls tends to restrict Western access to American high technologies.

Robinson, Roger W., Jr.
East-West trade and national security. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1986. 7 p. (Heritage lectures 50)

Presents policy recommendations which address the elements of East-West economic and commercial relations which may be providing "windfall contributions to Soviet military-related innovation, the USSR's hard currency earnings structure, and the Soviet Union's ability to maintain and expand its costly global commitments."

Rocca, James V.
Reflections on the future of NATO in an era of diverging social, military economic and political attitudes. Osterreichische Zeitschrift fur Aussenpolitik, v. 22, no. 3, 1982: 178-199.

"Present difficulties within the Alliance seem to be of the type which could bring about the demise of that cornerstone of Western defense strategy, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization itself."

Rockman, Bert A.
American's Departments of State: irregular and regular syndromes of policy making. American political science review, v. 75, Dec. 1981: 911-927.

Rogers, Bernard W.
The Atlantic Alliance: prescriptions for a difficult decade. Foreign affairs, v. 60, summer 1982: 1145-1156.

The Supreme Allied Commander Europe discusses NATO's security objectives and surveys external and internal problems facing the Alliance. He suggests that NATO should strive to attain a conventional posture which would constitute a credible deterrent to Warsaw Pact conventional aggression, but he points out the dangers inherent in a NATO policy of "no first use" of nuclear weapons.

Follow-on forces attack (FOFA): myths and realities. NATO review, v. 32, Dec. 1984: 1-9.

Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) on means to enhance NATO's conventional capacity and deterrent.

Greater flexibility for NATO's flexible response. Strategic review, v. 11, spring 1983: 11-19.

The Supreme Allied Commander, Europe contends that the answer to NATO's security problems "must be found in the determination to go ahead with nuclear modernization--if the Geneva negotiations yield no results--and in a concerted modernization of NATO conventional forces that is within both the technological and economic reach of the member nations. Such an effort to raise the nuclear threshold is consistent with Flexible Response, forward defense and the requirements of truly credible deterrence."

Increasing threats to NATO's security call for sustained response. NATO review, v. 29, June 1981: 1-6.

General Rogers, the Supreme Allied Commander for Europe, surveys the Soviet threat to NATO and outlines the long-term steps he feels NATO should take for its defense. He advocates strengthening the northern, central, and southern regions, maintaining a full continuum of strategic nuclear, tactical nuclear, and conventional forces and augmenting forces and resources, so that NATO's security interests outside its borders can be protected.

Sword and shield: ace attack of Warsaw Pact follow-on forces. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 28, Feb.-Mar. 1983: 16, 18, 20, 23, 26.

"General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, presents his ideas of how, by exploiting the West's technological lead, the Allies can best meet the threat of the numerically superior Warsaw Pact forces and so improve deterrence."

Rose, Francois de.
Alternative strategies for the West. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, June-July 1982: 14-17.

The author, a member of the French diplomatic service, reviews the challenges to NATO and suggests a new NATO strategy, with an emphasis on conventional forces and a change in the relationship of France with NATO's military structures.

Rosenau, William.
NATO vs Warsaw Pact: is massive rearmament necessary? New York, Council on Economic Priorities, 1984. 4 p. (CEP publication N84-2)

"The administration claims that NATO's conventional forces are incapable of stopping a Warsaw Pact invasion of Western Europe. Only the threat of 'first use' of superior nuclear forces, it argues, will deter a conventional attack against our European allies. How true is this claim?"

Rostow, Eugene. Warnke, Paul.
The arms control debate. Fletcher forum, v. 7, summer 1983: 227-249.
"The majority of people remain divided about how best to end or slow down the arms race and to lessen the dangers of nuclear war . . . . In the following interviews, two of the leading figures in this arms control debate, Eugene Rostow and Paul Warnke--both former heads of the Arms Controls and Disarmament Agency (ACDA)--give their views on this important and controversial issue."

Roth, William V.
After the Nunn-Roth Amendment. NATO's sixteen countries, v. 30, June-July 1985: 15-16, 18, 20-21, 23.
"After years of cohesion, it is natural to consider the evolution of the North Atlantic Alliance. Last year's Nunn-Roth Amendment did much to shake up thinking on both sides of the Atlantic. As one of the co-authors, Senator William Roth shows how its present problems are seen in the United States and gives a serious assessment of its needs."

Rothgeb, John M., Jr.
Loose vs. tight: the effect of bloc structure upon foreign interactions. Journal of politics, v. 43, May 1981: 493-511.
"Three categories of blocs are used: loose bloc states (defined as the NATO states), tight bloc states (defined as the Warsaw Pact states), and a non-bloc category containing all targets not mentioned in the first two categories. The focus is upon East and West Germany's interactions with their own blocs, . . . with the other bloc, . . . and with non-bloc entities."

Rourke, John T.
Congress and the cold war. World affairs, v. 139, spring 1977: 259-277.
The congressional role in foreign policy making should be confined to strategic, not tactical considerations. Using the example of the post-World War II international situation, Rourke observes that "Congress had a unique opportunity to help shape a positive foreign policy. Considering the role of Congress in the formulation of policy, specifically the British Loan, Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and the general attitude of the United States toward the Soviet Union, one must conclude that Congress failed to act responsibly and was a detriment to the policy-making process."

Congress and the Presidency in U.S. foreign policymaking: a study of interaction and influence, 1945-1982. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1983. 441 p. (Westview replica edition)

Rowney, Edward L.
Build up regular forces. New York times, June 5, 1987: A35.

Nuclear arms control and the NATO Alliance. Dept. of State bulletin, v. 84, Aug. 1984: 38-44.
Ambassador Rowny, chief negotiator for the U.S. delegation to the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks [START] in this his July 1984 address before the Royal United Services Institute in London reviews "developments to date in START, discuss[es] the impact which recent events have had on the NATO alliance, and, finally, give[s] you my thoughts on where we should go from here."

Ruehl, Lothar.
MBFR: lessons and problems. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies [1982] 37 p. (Adelphi paper no. 176)
Contents.--The objective problems.--Mutual interests and the agreed framework of the Vienna negotiations.--The evolution of concepts since 1973.--Common ground and persisting incompatibilities.--Nuclear arms and the 'grey area' around MBFR.--Lessons and perspectives.

Ruehle, Michael.
Anti-missile defense in Europe and the ABM Treaty. Strategic review, v. 15, spring 1987: 49-57.

"There is a lively debate in Western Europe, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany, over the quest in NATO for anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) defenses . . . . Interpretations of the U.S.-Soviet ABM Treaty of 1972 do not loom as large in this debate as in the concurrent U.S. controversy in relation to SDI. The ABM Treaty was not addressed to ATBM. Still, pervasive ambiguities in the Treaty permit opponents of ATBM to invoke allegations of potential breach of letter . . . . A thorough examination shows the issue of Treaty relevance to rest on at best murky and spurious grounds."

Rummel, Reinhardt.
Coordination of the West's crisis diplomacy. Aussenpolitik, v. 31, no. 2, 1980: 123-133.

The author analyzes "the West's crisis diplomacy, the efficiency of which has proved unsatisfactory in the latest crisis. The problem lies in linking internal European and internal Atlantic consultation processes, i.e. in finding a modus vivendi between the European Political Cooperation and US diplomacy along the lines recommended . . . in the 1974 Ottawa Declaration."

Rumpf, Helmut.
Ideological homogeneity in alliances. Aussenpolitik, v. 33, no. 2, 1982: 166-177.

Discusses the League of Nations and the United Nations. Considers the principle of political and ideological homogeneity with reference to the Organization of American States, the Council of Europe, the Western European Union, NATO, and the Warsaw Pact.

Rupp, Rainer.
Assistance for Greece, Portugal and Turkey--a form of burden-sharing. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 30, Dec. 1985: 49-52, 54-55, 57-58.

"Burden sharing means a bigger weight for the stronger. It is imperative, as Mr. Rainer Rupp explains, that the better-off allied nations make greater efforts to assist their economically weaker fellows who, in reality, carry a heavier defence burden."

Economic co-operation and assistance within the Alliance. NATO review, v. 33, Feb. 1985: 27-32.

Provides background information and current status reports on Allied economic affairs involving Portugal, Turkey and Greece.

Sharing the defence burden. NATO review, v. 30, Dec. 1982: 24-28.

"The nature and structure of the Alliance . . . therefore, prevents the production of a mechanical formula for calculating an equitable distribution of the defence burden. Efforts to do so are regularly based on narrow and selective criteria which not only fail to reflect the complexity of the NATO Alliance but also distort the relationships implied in membership."

Rusinow, Dennison I.
Reflections on Cold wars: the 1983 Oslo Atlantic defense symposium. Hanover, N.H., Universities Field Staff International, 1983. 9 p. (UFSI reports, 1983/no. 15, Europe/general)

"In August 1983 the Norwegian National Defense College sponsored a symposium to discuss the effects on Western defense policies of the events and influences of the period from 1947 through 1953. The symposium was able to draw on newly accessible materials and the memories of some of the participants in the creation of NATO, but the lessons of 'Cold War I,' like most of the lessons of history, turn out to be generally ambiguous."

Russell, Cosmo.
Europe in the new decade. Contemporary review, v. 236, Feb. 1980: 57-63.

"Looking ahead in Europe is obscured by a fog of imponderables: . . . acute military problem . . . of the Nato alliance . . . disillusion with the Community due to patterns of spending, grave concern over the problem of energy, an economic recession and finally the disturbing factor of continuing violence in everyday life."

Russell, Robert E.
How secure is NATO's northern cap? Air University review, v. 35, Sept.-Oct. 1984: 58-67.

"The Northern Flank, in which Norway is the key NATO member, has yet to receive all the attention it deserves. Europe's 'northern cap' is usually defined as the northern one-third of the Scandinavian countries . . . . This area's critical relationship to the rest of NATO should not be overlooked: its unusual geography, the size and strength of the Soviet military in the area . . . . All combine to suggest that the situation in the northern cap is a potentially volatile one."

Ruth, Friedrich.
Deterrence and arms control--NATO's security policy. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, Feb.-Mar. 1982: 14-16, 18-19.
Ambassador Friedrich Ruth, Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, discusses the credibility of NATO's peacekeeping strategy, the balance of forces in Europe, the political framework in which arms control negotiations take place, objectives for arms control negotiations and considerations such negotiations must address.

Sabin, Philip A. C.
Shadow or substance? Perceptions and symbolism in nuclear force planning. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1987. 72 p.

Sabrosky, Alan Ned.
America in NATO: the conventional delusion. Orbis, v. 25, summer 1981: 293-306.
Surveys the balance of power in Europe. Suggests that a conventional defense of NATO Europe is improbable at best. Recommends that the U.S. concentrate on regaining escalatory dominance over the U.S.S.R, both in strategic-nuclear and theater balances.

Salatiello, Luigi.
Are changes needed in NATO's leadership structure? NATO review, v. 32, Aug. 1984: 22-25.
Provides a detailed analysis of the proposal by Henry Kissinger that the post of NATO Secretary General be held by an American and that of Supreme Allied Commander Europe by a European general.

Sanford, William F., Jr.
The Marshall Plan: origins and implementation. Dept. of State bulletin, v. 82, June 1982: 17-33.

Schilling, Walter.
Stagnation at the MBFR talks in Vienna. Aussenpolitik, v. 34, no. 3, 1983: 294-301.
"The Vienna talks on Mutual Balanced Force Reduction in Central Europe, which began 10 years ago, have led to stagnation on major issues: in the data debate because troop cuts cannot be negotiated unless troop strengths are known; . . . confidence-building cannot be achieved without verification, . . . and in the establishment of ceilings . . . . This is the analysis of the position at the Vienna MBFR talks made by Lt-Col. Schilling, . . . and he sees no likelihood of the two sides emerging from this deadlock in the foreseeable future."

Schlauch, Wolfgang.
West Germany: reliable partner? Perspectives on recent German-American relations. German studies review, v. 8, Feb. 1985: 107-125.
"The United States has considered the Federal Republic of Germany as one of its its closest and most dependable allies within the Western Alliance. Since the late nineteen seventies, however, questions began to arise on both sides about the future nature of the NATO alliance and the West German role within it."

Schlesinger, James R.
The handwriting on the wall may be a forgery. Armed Forces journal international, v. 119, Mar. 1982: 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 77.
Briefly surveys U.S. military strategy and posture since World War II. Contends that "we have allowed the military balance to deteriorate, and we have increasingly exhibited a kind of political inflexibility, an insensitivity to the different, though comprehensible views of our allies, that has further eroded the structure. As a consequence, we are now highly

vulnerable . . . . But if we restore discipline in our thought; discipline in our political processes; and provide the necessary actions, we can sustain that structure of international politics that has been so beneficial to the preservation of liberty and of peace since the close of World War II.

Schmidt, Helmut.

A grand strategy for the West: the anachronism of national strategies in an interdependent world. New Haven, Yale University Press, c1985. 159 p.

A policy of reliable partnership. Foreign affairs, v. 59, spring 1981: 743-755.

Chancellor Schmidt states that "this policy of reliable partnership begins with and is based on cooperation among democracies . . . . It would also be desirable to agree on a global concept for Western policy . . . . Finally . . . the elements of cooperation which have been built up in the last ten years with the Soviet Union and its allies must be developed further."

Saving the Western Alliance. New York review of books, v. 31, May 31, 1984: 25-27.

Commentary by former West German Chancellor on Kissinger's "Plan to reshape NATO" and an argument for a reform of political economic and military strategy for the Alliance.

Schmitz, Peter N.

Defending the NATO alliance: global implications. Washington, National Defense University Press, 1987. 178 p.

Partial contents.--Is NATO an island?--The issue of a common foreign policy.--Neglected elements in transatlantic relations.--Political consultation and cooperation.--Toward an alliance global strategy.

Schoch, Bruno.

Eurocommunism and defence: do Western European communists feel threatened by the Soviet Union? The case of Italy. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 15, no. 1, 1984: 25-36.

"The CPI has . . . fought Italy's incorporation into NATO from the very beginning . . . . It is not only for historic and ideological reasons that CPI has not made a clear choice as far as security and defence policy beyond acceptance of NATO are concerned."

Schneider, William.

Europeans have their doubts about reliability of U.S. political leadership. National journal, v. 15, July 23, 1983: 1566-1567.

"The Atlantic Alliance faces a major test this year, and it comes at a time when public opinion in Europe and in America is sharply divided over nuclear defense policy and the reliability of U.S. political leadership."

Schulze, Franz-Joseph.

SDI and the conventional defense of Europe. International defense review, v. 19, no. 9, 1986: 1225-1228.

"The strengthening of NATO's conventional posture . . . must include the capability to intercept Soviet short-range and intermediate-range missiles."

Schwartz, Thomas.

NATO's nuclear dilemmas. Washington, Brookings Institution, c1983. 270 p.

The case of German rearmament: Alliance crisis in the "golden age." Fletcher forum, v. 8, summer 1984: 295-309.

The author reveals "the divisions and delays that marked NATO's first security crisis--the 1950 decision to rearm Germany. Making use of recently released governmental sources, personal papers and memoirs, both European and American . . . Mr. Schwartz argues that particular solutions can best be understood by looking at the relative strength of the cross-national bureaucratic coalitions that form around them. Mr. Schwartz concludes that NATO's history reveals a recurrent pattern in the origin, development and re-solution of security crises. This pattern of historical resiliency, he suggests, should caution against the tendency to view present discord as a threat to the future viability of the Alliance."

Schwarz, Jurgen.
Structural development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Munich, Hochschule der Bundeswehr, 1982. 94 p. (Texte zum Studium der internationalen Beziehungen, 3)
Contents.--Origin and consolidation.--Structures and functions.--Crisis developments.--Transatlantic differences.--Conclusions.--References.--Appendices.

Schweigler, Gebhard.
West German foreign policy: the domestic setting. New York, Praeger, 1984. 124 p. (Washington papers/106)
Contents.--German-American relations: concerns and expectations.--Historical setting: external and internalized constraints.--Attitudinal setting: identity and detente.--Military setting: alliance, arms, and angst.--Economic setting: from wirtschaftswunder to wondering.--Political setting: the primacy of stability.--Conclusion: stability and predictability.

Securing Europe's future. Edited by Stephen J. Flanagan and Fen Osler Hampson. London, Croom Helm, Dover, Mass., Auburn House, c1986. 334 p.

Security and disarmament. Trialogue, v. 30, summer-fall 1982: whole issue.
Partial contents.--In search of security, by R. Aron.--From disarmament to arms control, by M. Momoi.--East-West relations: strategic crossroads, by Z. Brzezinski.--Peace and Security, by A. Mertes.--A special statement, by I. Gandhi.--A new start for strategic arms control, by J. Nye.--On "common security." by D. Owen.--Security and disarmament, by T. Yokomichi.--Avoiding an arms race in outer space by C. Trezza.

Security in the North: Nordic and superpower perceptions; papers presented to a seminar on "The North and the superpowers, mutual security policy perceptions" on March 16, 1983. Edited by Bo Huldt and Atis Lejins. Stockholm, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, [1984] 78 p.

Seignious, George M., II. Yates, Jonathan Paul.
Europe's nuclear superpowers. Foreign policy, no. 55, summer 1984: 40-53.
"Both Great Britain and France are on the verge of nuclear build-ups ambitious enough to turn either one into the world's third nuclear superpower. The expansion of British and French arsenals will add greatly to the West's nuclear firepower, but on balance these forces will actually weaken Western security."

Semialignment and Western security. Edited by Nils Rvik. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1986. 286 p.

Serfaty, Simon.
Atlantic fantasies. Washington quarterly, v. 5, summer 1982: 74-81.
Briefly reviews the history of NATO. Surveys the political problems which contribute to the erosion of the alliance and considers U.S. policies toward its NATO allies.

Sergeyev, V.
NATO's aggressive plans and standardisation of weapons. International affairs (Moscow) no. 10, Oct. 1980: 80-86.
Accuses the U.S. of using NATO programs for standardization of weapons as a means of influencing the military system and strategy of NATO countries. Contends that NATO's standardization program escalates the arms race and jeopardizes peace.

Sharp, Jane M. O.
Arms control and Alliance commitments. Political science quarterly, v. 100, winter 1985-86: 649-667.
"Explores the problems of trying to pursue nuclear arms control with the Soviet Union while maintaining NATO's capability to deter a Soviet attack on Western Europe. The author argues that reducing reliance on the nuclear component of NATO's deterrent does not require compensatory increase in conventional military forces."

Understanding the INF debacle: arms control and alliance cohension. Arms control, v. 5, Sept. 1984: 95-127.

Shattering Europe's defense consensus: the antinuclear protest movement and the future of NATO. Edited by James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. Washington, Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, c1985. 226 p.

Shaw, Harry J.
U.S. security assistance: debts and dependency. Foreign policy, no. 50, spring 1983: 105-123.
The author, chief of the military assistance branch of the Office of Management and Budget during the Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations, contends that U.S. security assistance "adds to the troublesome debt burdens of some recipients, creates a group of client states indefinitely dependent upon U.S. assistance, and encourages unrealistic expectations for future levels of aid and relief from debts. Moreover, U.S. credit financing and grant aid encourage recipients to acquire arms and equipment and to maintain military establishments they cannot expect to support unaided."

Sherr, Alan B.
The European nuclear negotiations: paths to war or peace? Boston, Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, 1983. 50 p.
Contents.--The Soviet perspective.--The Western perspective.--Building toward confrontation.--The negotiations.--Interests.

Sherry, George L.
The United Nations, international conflict, and American security. Political science quarterly, v. 101, no. 5, 1986: 753-77..
"Suggests that impasse management and conflict control among the smaller powers and not defending American defense interests are the main political functions of the UN."

Should the U.S. stay in NATO? Harper's magazine, v. 268, Apr. 1984: 31-38, 59-61.
Transcript of a discussion held at the Lehrman Institute in New York City, moderated by Robert W. Tucker. Participants were Robert Bartley, Henry R. Breck, Edmund G. Brown, Jr., General Andrew J. Goodpaster, Irving Kristol, Earl C. Ravenal, John Roper, Colonel Harry G. Summers, Jr., and Karsten D. Voigt.

Shultz, George P.
New realities and new ways of thinking. Foreign affairs, v. 63, spring 1985: 705-721.
Secretary of State Shultz declares that "it is imperative that we grasp the new trends i.e. in the international order and understand their implications." He explores the questions "what are the forces of change? What 'new modes of thinking' are required? And what are the possible elements of a new and more secure international system?"

Power and diplomacy in the 1980s. Department of State bulletin, v. 84, May 1984: 12-15.
An address by the Secretary of State before the Trilateral Commission on April 3, 1984.

Sigal, Leon V.
The long and short of it: allied ambivalence about a zero INF deal. Arms control today, v. 17, May 1987: 10-13.
"New short-range deployments are doubtful because they are politically unacceptable and because they are militarily inappropriate."

Silvestri, Stefano.
Europe and President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. International spectator, v. 20, July-Dec. 1985: 3-13.

Simes, Dimitri K.
Disciplining Soviet power. Foreign policy, no. 43, summer 1981: 33-52.
Deals with alternative United States policies of containment to check the expansive intentions of the Soviet Union. Explains what such strategies could entail.

Simonet, Henri.
The state of the Alliance--a European view. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 27, Oct.-Nov. 1982: 16-18.

Considers how the Atlantic Alliance is affected by divergencies between U.S. and Western European perspectives regarding security. Contends that "the Euro-American divergencies appear in the first place to lie in the Europeans' analysis of the political and economic environment which determines their security." Discusses the conviction of some Europeans that the security of the United States can no longer be identified with that of Europe, and considers U.S. policies which may have contributed to such a conviction.

Skaggs, David C.

MR update: MBFR. Military review, v. 67, Feb. 1987: 85-94.

"Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks have been conducted since 1973. This update reviews the progress made and the major disagreements still to be resolved."

Sloan, Stanley R.

Conventinal arms control in Europe. SAIS review, v. 7, summer-fall 1987: 23-35.

Crisis in NATO: a problem of leadership? NATO review, v. 30, Aug. 1982: 13-19.

Examines factors underlying NATO's current crisis, including differences between U.S. and Western European attitudes, global roles, military capabilities, economic concerns, and national perspectives. Discusses the role of public opinion in NATO countries and considers misperceptions of the U.S. in Europe. Reviews various interpretations of the NATO crisis and its implications.

Crisis in the Atlantic Alliance: origins and implications. Prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, by Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 40 p.

At head of title: 97th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

Defense burden sharing with U.S. allies. Congressional Research Service review, June 1981: 4-6.

"The continued U.S. alliance relationships with Western Europe and Japan are dependent on the perception of both the United States and the allies that the benefits of the relationship are worth the costs involved."

East-West relations in Europe. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1986. 64 p. (Headline series no. 278)

Contents.--Introduction.--How and why is Europe divided?--Divided Germany: the heart of a divided Europe.--Overcoming the division.--Future issues and implications.

East-West troop reductions in Europe: is agreement possible?; report prepared for the Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs by the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress. Washington, G.P.O., 1983. 42 p.

European co-operation and the future of NATO: in search of a new transatlantic bargain. Survival, v. 26, Nov.-Dec. 1984: 242-251.

This article examines such issues as "What lessons can be derived from the ill-fated EDC [European Defense Community] initiative for the current troubles of the Alliance? Can the structural flaw be remedied?"

Managing the NATO alliance: Congress and burdensharing. Journal of policy analysis and management, v. 4, spring 1985: 396-406.

"Congressional perspectives have been substantially influenced by the desire to limit the U.S. share of the NATO burden . . . . Whether the recent focus on burdensharing will recede or grow in the next few years will depend on how the administration and the allies respond to the congressional pressure."

NATO after Reykjavik. National defense, v. 71, May-June 1987: 65-66, 71-72.
"Four aspects of Reykjavik, . . . caught the attention of the allies . . . . The first was the near breakthrough on INF. The second was the U.S. proposal for eliminating all ballistic nuclear missiles within a decade. The third was the final and persistent impasse over strategic defenses. The fourth was the fact that such far-reaching discussions and proposals had not been foreshadowed in U.S. consultations with the allies prior to the summit."

The NATO focus on conventional defense. National defense, v. 70, Jan. 1986: 18-21.
"NATO decisions in the last two years have . . . strongly focused alliance activities on conventional defense improvements, and on the need to develop a rational plan to match military requirements with available resources."

NATO's future: toward a new transatlantic bargain. Washington, National Defense University Press, for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1985. 243 p.
"Considers how the transatlantic bargain has evolved in the last 30 years and then examines the current status of the alliance, discussing NATO's nuclear dilemma, the sources of U.S.-European differences over how to deal with the Soviet Union, and political and economic frictions among the Western allies."

Nuclear strategy and arms control: challenges for U.S. policy, by Stanley R. Sloan and Robert C. Gray. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1982. 80 p. (Headline series, no. 261)
"This booklet examines the challenges currently facing American policy, first with regard to nuclear issues in Europe, where massive NATO and Warsaw Pact forces confront each other, and then with regard to the global competition between the United States and the Soviet Union in strategic nuclear forces."
Contents.--Nuclear dilemmas.--NATO nuclear policy: extending the U.S. guarantee.--Assessing the theater nuclear balance: contending approaches.--U.S. strategic nuclear policy.--Measuring the strategic balance.--Contending arms-control approaches.--Prospects and implications.

SDI and the European allies: dazzled or doubtful? National defense, v. 69, May-June 1985: 56-57, 59-61.
"NATO allies have grave reservations about Star Wars. Is current alliance support only a holding pattern?"

Slocombe, Walter B.
Extended deterrence. Washington quarterly, v. 7, fall 1984: 93-103.
"Distinguished U.S. spokesmen have joined in questioning the credibility of the U.S. making any nuclear response to a Soviet attack in Europe."

Smith, Gaddis.
The arms of foreign policy. St. Louis, McGraw-Hill, 1969. 117 p. (Grass roots guidebook series)

What we got for what we gave; the American experience with foreign aid. American heritage, v. 29, Apr.-May 1978: 64-71, 76-81.
"The American government, beginning with the loans of World War I, has had sixty years' experience with foreign aid. The experience reflects the shifting assumptions of foreign policy--from the denial in World War I that our loans should be considered a contribution to a common military effort; to the generosity of Lend-Lease and the Marshall Plan during and after World War II; . . . to the disillusionment of the Vietnam era, when many Americans seemed on the verge of abandoning the whole enterprise; to a quieter, more mature willingness in the late 1970's to continue foreign aid, but on a relatively modest scale and without utopian expectations."

Smith, Michael.
Western Europe and the United States: the uncertain alliance. London; Boston, George Allen & Unwin, 1984. 152 p. (Studies in contemporary Europe, no. 6)

Contents.--An uncertain alliance.--Continuity and change in European-American relations.--Interpreting European-American relations: political and academic puzzles.--The architecture of uncertainty.--Settings: the environment of European-American relations.-- Issues: the substance of European-American relations.--Processes: the conduct of European-American relations.

Smith, R. Jeffrey.

The allure of high-tech weapons for Europe. Science, v. 223, Mar. 23, 1984: 1269-1272.

"The failure of nuclear weapons to resolve the European security problem has created new enthusiasm for a conventional buildup . . . . Perhaps the most articulate and enthusiastic supporter of a conventional defense in Western Europe is Robert Komer, a former security analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency."

Smith, Theresa C.

Trojan peace: some deterrence propositions tested. Denver, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver [1982] 137 p. (Denver. University. Graduate School of International Studies. Monograph series in world affairs, v. 19, book 2)

Partial contents.--Deterrence theorizing.--Deterrence hypotheses.--Deterrence literature.--Context of testing: arms racing.--Specification of hypotheses.--Context of testing: deterrence.-- Method analysis.--Results.--Discussion.--Conclusion: a leap into war?-- Conclusion: support for deterrnece hypotheses.

Snyder, Jed C.

Defending the fringe: NATO, the Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf. Boulder, Westview Press with the Foreign Policy Institute, School of Advanced International Studies, the Johns Hopkins University, 1987. 149 p.

European security, East-West policy, and the INF debate. Orbis, v. 27, winter 1984: 913-970.

"The INF issue is analyzed here both as a critical decision for the alliance and as an instrument for measuring the importance that the Soviet Union attaches to eroding the strategic relationship between the United States and its European NATO allies. The INF debate serves as a case study illustrating two historic problems of NATO strategy for the United States: (1) managing the pressures that inevitably result from increasingly divergent perspectives of the United States and its European allies on the nature and seriousness of the Soviet threat to Europe, and (2) navigating a course that remains sensitive to a strategic dilemma which has dominated nuclear affairs in the alliance for thirty-five years." Maps and charts provide data on Soviet SS-20 and NATO INF deployments, and chronologies of Soviet and U.S. INF proposals supplement the text.

Strengthening the NATO alliance: toward a strategy for the 1980s. Naval War College review, v. 34, Mar.-Apr. 1981: 18-37.

"NATO has begun this decade with little change in the force postures and strategic concepts that it developed in its early years, three decades ago. World conditions, however, have not remained static. Political, military, economic conditions--all present broadened demands; all demand recognition. This paper offers some thoughts and suggestions."

Sokolsky, Joel J.

NATO: taking Canada more seriously. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 127, Dec. 1982: 41-47.

Examines Canada's unique place in NATO against the background of the overall strategic posture most suitable to Canadian capabilities and most supportive of allied needs.

Soofer, Robert M.

Defending America's allies from short-range Soviet missiles. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1987. 9 p. (Backgrounder no. 580)

"The growing Soviet short-range ballistic missile (SRBM) threat to United States allies in Western Europe, Asia, and the Middle East has sparked interest in defensive systems capable of destroying these missiles in flight. Such defenses, known as Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missiles (ATBM) could strengthen NATO deterrence against a Soviet attack and provide increased security for such U.S. friends as Japan and Israel."

Sorenson, David S.
Ballistic missile defense for Europe. Comparative strategy, v. 5, no. 2, 1985: 159-178.

Soviet propaganda campaign against NATO. Washington, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1983. 42, A11 p.

Speed, Roger D.
Strategic deterrence in the 1980s. Stanford, Calif., Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University [1980] 174 p. (Hoover Institution. Publication 214)
Provides an overview of American and Soviet views of deterrence and discusses America's strategic forces and their relationship to deterrence. Suggests actions that can be taken to assure the continuing survivability of strategic forces. Analyzes America's policy for defending Western Europe.

Staar, Richard F.
The MBFR process and its prospects. Orbis, v. 27, winter 1984: 999-1009.
The head of the U.S. delegation to the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction MBFR talks from 1981-1983 reviews the history, status, and prospects of MBFR negotiations in Vienna on reductions of NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional forces in Europe. Staar discusses the NATO draft treaty of 1982. He suggests that "two major problems in the negotiations remain. These involve the questions of agreed-upon data and associated measures."

Stassen, Harold E.
The Marshall Plan: peace, plenty and freedom. American Legion magazine, v. 122, June 1987: 28-29.
Former member of the Economic Council in the Eisenhower Administration discusses the Marshall Plan implementation.

Steel, Ronald.
Ending the American protectorate of Europe. Harper's magazine, v. 265, Jan.-Feb. 1987: 10-11, 13-14.

Steele, Jonathan.
How the West does not serve Poland. Third World quarterly, v. 4, Apr. 1982: 298-303.

Stein, Robert M. Ishimatsu, Mark. Stoll, Richard J.
The fiscal impact of the U.S. military assistance program, 1967-1976. Western political quarterly, v. 38, Mar. 1985: 27-43.
"Recipient countries during periods of non-conflict use U.S. assistance to maintain defense, and thus divert own-source military expenditures to other non-military areas. Exactly where the diverted monies end up is not clear but analysis suggests monies are not channeled into the public sector. Accompanying military aid transfers is a decline in domestic spending suggesting that aid monies may be diverted to the private sector, rather than to new or expanded domestic spending."

Steinberg, James B.
Rethinking the debate on burden-sharing. Survival, v. 29, Jan.-Feb. 1987: 56-78.
"The burden-sharing debate has been an endemic controversy within the Atlantic Alliance since its inception. From the earliest days of the US Senate deliberation over ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty, vocal and influential segments of the American political leadership have questioned the "fairness" of the burden the United States bore for the defence of Western Europe."

Steinbruner, John D.
Alliance security: NATO and the no-first-use question. In Alliance security. Washington, Brookings Institution, 1983. p. 197-207.

Stent, Angela E.
Accommodation: the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe. Washington quarterly, v. 5, autumn 1982: 93-104.
"Western Europe's economic woes and the serious strains in the Atlantic alliance, particularly on East-West trade isues, continue to provide the Soviet Union with new opportunities to strengthen its Westpolitik."

Stimson, Henry Lewis. Bundy, McGeorge.
On active service in peace and war. New York, Octagon Books, 1971, c1948. 698 p.

Stoecker, Sally.
Soviets plan countermeasures to FOFA. International defense review, v. 19, no. 11, 1986: 1607-1608.

Stoppa-Liebl, Paolo.
Europe's youth and western values: from revolution to apathy. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 24, summer 1986: 111-118.
"Two generations of Europeans have grown with the alliance. It is easy, therefore, to accept it uncritically as a permanent fixture of the political landscape. But NATO needs more than passive acceptance in order to remain viable."

Strachan, Hew.
Conventional defence in Europe. International affairs, v. 61, winter 1984-1985: 27-43.
"The focus of this article is on the two main sets of tactical and operational reforms that have been proposed. The first of these is defence in depth, which lays emphasis on a strategy of denial rather than on one of nuclear retaliation. A purely defensive posture, which specifically eschewed all offensive means in the search not to be provocative, would be the purest achievement of NATO's political objectives; but would encounter many practical difficulties on a purely military level. The other main operational solution that has been suggested for NATO's conventional defence has been the counter-attack and, particularly, the possible interdiction of Warsaw Pact second-echelon forces and of vital Soviet communications. This alternative is far more congenial to traditional military thought, but politically is not as satisfactory as the first."

Strasser, Steven.
A pacifist wave in Europe. Newsweek, v. 98, Aug. 24, 1981: 28-29, 31.

Strategic defense and the western alliance. Edited by Dan Quayle, Robert E. Hunter, C. Elliott Farmer. Washington, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, c1986. 92 p. (Significant issues series, v. 8, no. 6)

Strategic defense and the western alliance. Edited by Sanford Lakoff, Randy Willoughby. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, c1987. 218 p.

Strategic defense, strategic modernization, and arms control. United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 111, Sept. 1985: 131-144.
"This is the transcript of a panel discussion which brought together four recognized authorities on strategic issues."

Strauss, Franz Josef.
After Afghanistan. Policy review, no. 12, spring 1980: 109-114.
"Afghanistan is nothing but a preliminary objective in the long-term planning of the Kremlin on its way to communist world ascendency. With this action, however, Moscow has put the Atlantic Alliance to the test."

Strausz-Hupe, Robert.
Will West Germany stay in step? Policy review, no. 11, winter 1980: 37-49.
"The issue of Germany's partition has slanted the internal politics of West Germany ever since its founding; its implications have never been absent from the consideration of the West German foreign and security policies. It has always loomed large in Bonn's relationship with its Western allies. Now, it confronts NATO with a crucial test of alliance solidarity."

Strenghtening conventional deterrence in Europe: a program for the 1980s. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, c1985. 150 p.
Contents.--ESECS concepts for improving NATO deterrence and defense.--Surveillance and target acquisition.--Defeating the initial Warsaw Pact attacks.--Countering the Warsaw Pact air offensive.--Defeating the Warsaw Pact follow-on ground forces threat.--Disrupting Warsaw Pact command/control processes.--Ensuring secure, reliable and effective command/control.--Costs and schedules.--Stability, reassurance and arms control.

Student Conference on United States Affairs (37th: 1985: West Point, N.Y.) U.S. Foreign policy consensus: prognosis and implications. West Point, N.Y., United States Military Academy, 1985. 146 p.

Sullivan, Leonard, Jr.
A new approach to burden sharing. Foreign policy, no. 60, fall 1985: 91-110.

"More important than the size of defense budgets, however, is the overriding necessity for all members of the Consortium to participate equally in assuring their own future prosperity. To the extent that prosperity is guaranteed by standing military forces, it will behoove all collectively to minimize the unnecessary and unequal burdens, if not from the ideological standpoint of 'share and share alike,' then from the common objective of improving overall political and economic prosperity."

Sullivan, Scott.
The decline of Europe. Newsweek, v. 103, Apr. 9, 1984: 44-49, 53-54, 56.

Sumberg, Theodore A.
Foreign aid as moral obligation? Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications, c1973. 72 p. (The Washington papers, v. 1, no. 10)

Sweet, William.
The neutron bomb and European defense. [Washington, Congressional Quarterly] 1980. 583-600 p. (Editorial research reports, 1980, v. 2, no. 6)

Contents.--Neutron bomb developments.--European defense strategy.--Prospects for arms control.

West Germany's 'missile' election. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, 1983. 151-168 p. (Editorial research reports, 1983, v. 1, no. 8)

Contents.--Missiles as election issue.--Alliance ties and strains.--Europe's economic malaise.

Swistak, Robert R.
Assault Breaker breaks out. Astronautics and aeronautics, v. 21, Feb. 1983: 34-41.

"This article examines the key technologies being developed under Assault Breaker, reviews the results of the recent flight demonstration program, and discusses the direction that future efforts might take."

Swords and shields: NATO, the USSR, and new choices for long-range offense and defense. Edited by Fred S. Hoffman, Albert Wohlstetter, and David S. Yost. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, c1987. 369 p.

Taft, William H., IV.
NATO's renewed commitment to armaments control. Defense issues, v. 2, no. 20, 1987: 1-3.

In this speech at a National Defense University symposium on Mar. 26, 1987, Deputy Secretary of Defense discusses issues of significance to NATO. "The NATO ministers have made a strong start toward a higher confidence deterrent at an affordable alliance cost. Our defense industries have enlisted in the effort, and we anticipate even greater benefit from the synergism of the Free World's greatest industrial communities."

Takeshita, Lloyd S.
The Strategic Defense Initiative and NATO. Military review, v. 66, Apr. 1986: 31-37.

"The Strategic Defense Initiative continues to be a center of controversy . . . . How do the member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization feel about this issue, and how does it fit into their concept of 'joint' defense? This author contends the issue does not fit as neatly as the United States would hope."

Talbott, Strobe.
Deadly gambits: the Reagan Administration and the stalemate in nuclear arms control. New York, Knopf, disbributed by Random House, 1984. 380 p.

Tatu, Michel.
Pershings versus SS-20s: a strategic unbalance? Manchester guardian weekly, v. 124, May 10, 1981: 12.

"High-pressure diplomatic manoeuverings have been going on over the question of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe ever since the USSR acquired new SS-20 missiles and NATO decided in December 1979 to deploy, starting at the end of 1983, 572 American 'euromissiles' in various Western countries while at the same time trying to open negotiations with Moscow on the subject."

Taylor, Edward C.
Artificial intelligence in the air-land battle. Astronautics and aeronautics, v. 21, July-Aug. 1983: 55-59.

Taylor, Humphrey.
Nine nations assess economic and security issues. Public opinion, v. 6, Aug.-Sept. 1983: 16-17, 54-55.

"It's too simplistic to interpret the German and British elections as endorsements of pro-NATO and pro-American policies. The data from the nine-country survey reveal economic as well as security tensions." This survey of eligible voters in France, Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Spain, Netherlands, Italy and the U.S. was conducted in the fall of 1982 and the spring of 1983.

Taylor, Joe Gray, Jr.
The Bundeswehr and German society. Parameters, v. 13, Sept. 1983: 68-76.

An attempt "to define the relationship of the German federal armed forces to the society they are sworn to defend . . . . Since the degree to which the armed forces are accepted, rejected, or ignored by German society has a real and direct bearing on military efficiency, this can have an important effect on how Bundeswehr combat capabilities are perceived and consequently on that army's role as a deterrent."

Taylor, Trevor.
Britain's response to the Strategic Defense Initiative. International affairs (London), v. 62, spring 1986: 217-264.

Contents.--Britain's response to the Strategic Defence Initiative, by Trevor Taylor.--France and the Strategic Defence Initiative: speeding up or putting on the brakes? by John Fenske.--SDI: the challenge to West Germany, by Christoph Bluth.

Defence, technology, and international integration. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1982. 218 p. (Studies in international political economy)

Europe and the SDI. RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies], v. 130, Mar. 1985: 41-45.

"In general the longer many West European governments have pondered the SDI, the more concerned they have become." There are four dimensions to West European interests.

Technologies for NATO's follow-on forces attack concept; a special report of OTA's assessment on improving NATO's defense response. Washington, U.S. Office of Technology Assessment, for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1986. 39 p.

"This report provides an overview of the U.S. technological developments of interest for FOFA. While it does not rate on rank these developments, it does describe what they are and how they might contribute to implementing FOFA. It also provides background on the role of FOFA in NATO strategy, the threat it responds to, and operational concepts for FOFA."

Tegnelia, James A.
Emerging technology for conventional deterrence. International defense review, v. 18, no. 5, 1985: 643-645, 650-652.

"Strengthening NATO's conventional capabilities has been a continuing Reagan administration priority. Presented as a way to prevent the nuclear escalation of a military conflict, it relies on the development of so-called 'emergency technologies' to produce conventional weapon systems which will provide a deterrent to a non-nuclear Soviet attack."

Terrorism. American Legion magazine, v. 120, June 1986: 15, 49, 16-17, 56-57, 18-19, 54, 20, 21, 47-48.

Partial contents.--'We'll protect our citizens,' by George Bush.--How NATO became impotent, by Brian Crozier.--Plastic terror is there a defense? by Jerome Greer Chandler.

Tests of superpower. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, c1987. 213 p.

Partial contents.--U.S.-Soviet summitry.--Arms control negotiations.--Science wars over Star Wars.--Chemical weapons: push for controls.--Angola and the Reagan Doctrine.--Dealing with terrorism.

Thatcher, Margaret.

Soviet Union has never concealed its intention to dominate the world. National security newsletter of the Reserve Officers Association [magazine], v. 3, May 1985: 12-13.

Excerpts from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's February, 1985 address to a joint session of the U.S. Congress in which she speaks on burden sharing, deterrence, and dealing with the Soviet Union from a position of strength.

Thee, Marek.

The arms race and the fate of Europe: the military-political nexus. Current research on peace and violence, v. 8, no. 1, 1985: 13-23.

Thies, Wallace J.

The Atlantic Alliance, nuclear weapons & European attitudes: reexamining the conventional wisdom. Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, University of California, c1983. 59 p.

What future for the Atlantic Alliance? Parameters, v. 16, summer 1986: 26-35.

"There is of course no guarantee that the Atlantic Alliance will hold together, but on the whole a collapse seems unlikely. The strains that have appeared in recent years reflect long-standing concerns rather than novel or unprecedented developments."

The Third dimension: NATO in space. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 29, Nov. 1984: whole issue (13-46 p.)

Contents.--Space and defense in the NATO alliance, by E. Teller.--NATO and the Strategic Defence Initiative, by L. Freedman.--Antiballistic missile defense, by R. DeLauer.--Space logistics, by E. Smernoff.--Military SATCOMs, by N. West.--View from Copenhagen, by N. Haagerup.--World surveillance from space, by D. Rekenthaler.

Thomas, William V.

American military strength abroad. [Washington] Editorial Research Reports, 1980. 107-124 p. (Editorial research reports, 1980, v. 1, no. 6)

Contents.--New emphasis on defense.--Evolving commitment overseas.--Future military challenges.

America's allied relations. [Washington, Congressional Quarterly] 1980. 527-540 p. (Editorial research reports, 1980, v. 11, no. 3.)

Contents.--Division in the West.--Three decades of NATO.--Outlook for cooperation.

Thompson, E. P.

The END of the line. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 37, Jan. 1981: 6-13.

"Professor Thompson comments on a few of the many books on nuclear holocaust . . . . and then moves on to a comprehensive and challenging assessment of the nuclear menace in Europe."

A letter to America. Nation, v. 232, Jan. 24, 1981: whole issue.

Contents.--America's Europe: a Hobbit among Gandalfs.--'Modernizing' NATO: the mendacity game.--Little theater wars: expendable Europe.--Overthrowing the satanic kingdom.

Neutralism: the task of remaking Europe. Manchester guardian weekly, v. 125, Sept. 6, 1981: 19.

A critique of American policy for NATO's nuclear modernization, as well as of Soviet deployment of the SS-20. Locked in between the superpowers "balance" game, Europe opts for neutralism.

Thompson, John B.

NATO infrastructure at a crossroads--a perspective. NATO review, v. 32, Mar. 1984: 20-26.

NATO's Controller for Infrastructure describes the NATO Infrastructure Programme which "has been responsible to date for the planning and implementation, throughout the Alliance, of a wide range of common support facilities." . . . He writes "currently, the programme is undergoing a transition, involving improved procedures for NATO infrastructure adopted last year, aimed at refining multi-year planning and financing by linking infrastructure planning more closely to the NATO force planning process."

Thompson, Kenneth.
The ethics of major American foreign policies. British journal of international studies, v. 6, 1980: 111-124.
"Considers four important doctrines of American foreign policy which presumably rested on firm moral and political assessments by the American people of what was right and wrong not merely as practical strategies but as enduring moral doctrines: 1. No entangling alliances. 2. Manifest destiny. 3. Wilsonianism and collective security. 4. The Truman Doctrine: making containment universal.

Thomson, James A.
After two tracks: integrating START and INF. Washington quarterly, v. 7, spring 1984: 17-28.
"This article examines two propositions supporting the integration of START and INF: that integration of these arms control forums will be more supportive of Western strategic doctrine than separate talks. That integration will reduce existing obstacles to agreements in the separate START and INF forums without creating new, offsetting, obstacles."

The LRTNF decision: evolution of US theatre nuclear policy, 1975-9. International affairs (London), v. 60, autumn 1984: 601-614.
"The deployment by NATO in Europe of the so-called intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) missiles in December 1983 marked the culmination of a process largely completed four years earlier. From 1975 to 1979, the United States, together with its NATO allies, fundamentally changed alliance policy concerning theatre nuclear forces (TNF). Although America's European allies played a strong role in initiating this process, the change was ultimately one for the United States to make as the chief nuclear power of the alliance."

NATO, agenda for the next four years. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1982. 164 p. (A series in international security and arms control)
"R-2836-FF"

Nuclear weapons in Europe: planning for NATO's nuclear deterrent in the 1980s and 1990s. Survival, v. 25, May-June 1983: 98-109.
"NATO planners need to look anew at: the structure of short-and medium-range theatre nuclear forces; the contribution that US sea-based and intercontinental nuclear assets make to NATO's deterrent; NATO's capabilities to direct its forces in war; and the size of the nuclear stockpile in Europe."

Time to put paid to aid; American survey. Economist, v. 295, Apr. 1985: 21-23.
"Since the end of the second world war, when the Americans began to scatter their aid on foreign soil, they have been asking themselves why they do so. Motivations and priorities shift, sometimes radically . . . . Although military and economic aid have remained as uneasy partners down the years," one congressional proposal has been made to link the two.

Timmons, Richard F.
Lessons from the past for NATO. Parameters, v. 14, autumn 1984: 3-11.
"The German experience on the Eastern Front in World War II continues to be a fertile field for ideas regarding our situation in Europe. We need not slavishly emulate the Wehrmacht, but we ignore their experiences at our peril . . . . The Wehrmacht experience, properly considered, has substantial value and is worthy of serious review by all NATO partners."

Tolnay, Laszlo.
The basis of NATO's military policy and doctrine. Development and peace, v. 5, spring 1984: 133-146.

Tomes, Jonathan P.
A primer on the AirLand Battle: what every judge advocate needs to know about the client's primary business. Army lawyer, no. 132, Dec. 1983: 1, 6-9.

"This article will attempt to familiarize the reader with the AirLand Battle and provide a basis for further study, if desired." Includes background information on Soviet tactical doctrine as well.

Tornetta, Vincenzo.
The nuclear strategy of the Atlantic Alliance and the "no-first-use" debate. NATO review, v. 30, Dec. 1982: 1-7.

The author, Italian Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council, critiques the proposal by McGeorge Bundy, George Kennan, Robert McNamara, and Gerard Smith that NATO should adopt a "no-first-use" doctrine for nuclear weapons.

Rethinking NATO strategy. Washington quarterly, v. 7, summer 1984: 13-20.

Italy's Permanent Representative to NATO from January 1980 to April 1983 recommends "an active reconsideration of NATO's present strategic directives in order to continue to insure an effective and credible deterrence, without undermining public support." He points out that "geographic and strategic constraints imply that Europe's defense requirements--and particularly the need to insure a credible deterrence--go beyond a pure and simple balance of conventional forces, because geography may play against the continent."

Tow, William T.
Asian-Pacific alliance systems and transregional linkages. Naval War College review, v. 34, Sept.-Oct. 1981: 32-54.

Reviews Soviet strategic penetration of Asia and the Pacific and responses of Asian and Pacific nations. Considers Japanese moves toward defense cooperation with the U.S. and its NATO and ANZUS allies. Surveys the emerging interests of other Asian-Pacific states in expanding their security ties with NATO and ANZUS states into a wider forum for consultation and policy coordination.

NATO's out-of-region challenges and extended containment. Orbis, v. 28, winter 1985: 829-855.

"Reviews some key components that historically have played a role in obviating NATO's assumption of a global security identity. More recent diverse perspectives about how best to address current NATO strategic problems that originate from outside the treaty area are also be briefly assessed."

Towle, Phillip.
The Soviet Union and Western armaments. Army quarterly and defense journal, v. 110, Jan. 1980: 23-30.

Discusses the controversy created by NATO's consideration of a plan to deploy Pershing missiles in Europe to counter the increasing number of Soviet SS 20 missiles aimed at Western cities. The reactions of the Soviets and the NATO countries are described.

Toyka, Viktor.
A submerged forward defense. United States Naval Institute proceedings, v. 110, Mar. 1984: 145-147.

Warsaw Pact antisubmarine and antisurface operations "in the Bergen-Shetland Gap as well as north and northwest of the British Isles," during naval exercises in the summer of 1983, indicate that "the Baltic approaches are not longer regarded as a de facto NATO bottleneck against Soviet bloc navies. NATO naval planners . . . must worry about adequate defense of the vital sea lines of communication in the North Atlantic, the Bergen-Shetland Gap, and even in the North Sea against a possible surface and submarine threat--in addition to the already significant air threat."

Trachtenberg, David J.
The military balance in 1985. Journal of defense & diplomacy, v. 3, Mar. 1985: 7-9, 61.

At the halfway point in the 1980s and the start of a new round of arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union, it is time to analyze the state of the U.S.-Soviet military balance." A brief look at nuclear strategy, defense expenditures, strategic offensive and defensive forces, theatre nuclear forces and general purpose forces.

Train, Harry D.
The growing Soviet naval menace. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, spring 1981: 50-62.
The Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic describes the growth of Soviet naval power, the threat it poses for NATO, and ways in which NATO might counter that threat.

Treverton, Gregory F.
Economics and security in the Atlantic Alliance. Survival, v. 26, Nov.-Dec. 1984: 269-279.
"To judge by recent writings, if the Atlantic Alliance does not break apart irrevocably over nuclear issues, or policy towards the Soviet Union, or security issues outside Europe, it will divide over 'West-West' economic issues. Growing protectionism to the point of trade wars, increasingly divisive debates over national economic policies, and the collapse of international financial institutions: these are the stock-in-trade of popular commentaries. At some point, it seems, these disputes must spill over to pose a threat to basic Alliance arrangements, including those in the realm of security."

Global threats and trans-Atlantic allies. International security, v. 5, fall 1980: 142-158.
Examines three issues which might change security relations between Western Europe and the United States: (1) debate on nuclear and conventional defense strategy and deployment, (2) threats outside Europe, and (3) shocks from outside the realm of 'security' as usually defined, such as oil embargos, or political developments within individual NATO countries.

Making the alliance work: the United States and Western Europe. Basingstoke, Hampshire, Macmillan, 1985. 211 p.

Managing NATO's nuclear dilemma. International security, v. 7, spring 1983: 93-115.
The realization that NATO's dilemma over the use of nuclear weapons "can only be managed and not resolved means that how decisions are reached matters nearly as much as what is decided. This section addresses the latter with some specific recommendations; concluding sections of this essay turn to the former."

Nuclear weapons in Europe. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies [1981] 34 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 168)
Contents.--The strategic balance in the 1980s.--The Soviet nuclear threat to Europe.--Towards a realistic doctrine for NATO.--Options for arms control.--TNF: the political condition.

Spain: domestic politics and security policy. [London] International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1986. 45 p.
Contents.--The domestic context.--Issues and alternatives.--The Spanish armed forces.--Spain, the United States and Nato.--Prospect.
"To an outsider, the broader security debate in Spain is often frustratingly ill-focused. . . . The debate is also pre-eminently political. It amounts to asking whether there is a rough domestic consensus about Spain's international interests, and what security arrangements would match those interests. Constructing such a rough match is the political challenge confronting Spain's leaders today."

Trezise, Philip H.
The Atlantic connection: prospects, problems, and policies. Washington, Brookings Institution [1975] 100 p.

Tritten, James John.
Meeting the challenge of Eurocommunism on NATO's southern shores. Army quarterly and defense journal, v. 110, Jan. 1980: 38-47.
"An overview of the foreign policy options regarding Eurocommunism available to American and NATO decision makers will be made with a brief analysis of each."

The Troubled alliance: Atlantic relations in the 1980s. Edited by Lawrence Freedman. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1983. 170 p.

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott.
A talk with Trudeau. New York times magazine, Oct. 3, 1982: 40-41, 54, 56, 70-71.
"In an interview in Ottawa, Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and the Times columnist James Reston discuss the Atlantic alliance, multinationals, Canadian unity and world economy."

Tucker, Michael.
Conventional weapons & wisdoms: a NATO dilemma for Canada. International perspective, Jan.-Feb. 1984: 3-6.

Tucker, Robert W.
The Atlantic Alliance and its critics. Commentary, v. 73, May 1982: 63-72.
After discussing the rising tide of criticism of the Atlantic Alliance, the author concludes that "Europe remains as committed to detente as it is to the Alliance. So long as this is true, the corrosive effects on the Alliance must continue. The predicament this great reality poses today could be resolved by a Western Europe determined to assume an ever greater responsibility for its own security."

Turan, Ilter.
Whither Turkish foreign policy? Conflict, v. 2, no. 1, 1980: 17-29.
Identifies the main features of Turkish foreign policy since World War II in an attempt "to delineate and analyze the forces and the direction of change, and, finally, to evaluate the implications of change for Turkey, its neighbors, and its allies."

Turbe, G.
A situation report on the Franco-German MBT project. International defense review, v. 14, no. 1, 1981: 23-26.
"An attempt to describe, from a French point of view, the present status
The "Two-way street" works even better than advertised.

Turner, Stansfield.
A new strategy for NATO. New York times magazine, Dec. 13, 1981: 42, 46, 49, 134, 136.
"The former head of the C.I.A. argues that the United States should reduce its military forces in Europe and strengthen its defenses against the Soviet threat to third-world countries."

Preparing for the unexpected: the need for a new military strategy, by Stansfield Turner, and George Thibault. Foreign affairs, v. 61, fall 1982: 124-135.
"Small aircraft carriers are more appropriate, then, for both the sea control and the intervention missions. Yet carriers and amphibious forces cannot, as has been pointed out, meet all of the intervention requirements by themselves. Thus, a major element in the new strategy should be to retrain and re-equip the Army and Air Force with the flexibility for worldwide intervention in mind, rather than just the static defense of Europe and Korea."

Toward a new defense strategy. New York times magazine, May 10, 1981: 14-17, 50, 55.
"A former C.I.A. director argues that American military forces, designed to defend Western Europe, must become more flexible to respond to crises in remote regions of the world."

The Two-way street: what hope for change? Interavia, v. 39, Mar. 1984: 233-238.
"Europe's aerospace industry remains sceptical about the prospects for increased sales of equipment to the USA, to reduce an imbalance which greatly favours the latter. There is a growing awareness in the USA of Europe's discontent, but how much can be done about it? Here, we present a selection of European viewpoints, followed by a review of recent moves in Washington to tackle the two-way street question."

The "Two-way street" works even better than advertised. Armed Forces journal international, v. 122, Dec. 1984: 62, 64, 68, 70, 74, 76, 80.

"When European and American defense experts gather, things are usually cordial--until someone brings up the defense trade balance between the US and its Allies. The mere mention of the common shorthand for that trade balance--the 'Two-Way Street'--nearly always elicits verbal salvos from those who reside east of the Atlantic. Conversations are almost guaranteed to produce wildly exaggerated trade ratios; allegations of a 'one-way highway' of US equipment going to Europe (or European money going to the US); and blanket condemnations of a 'not-invented-here' attitude within the US Services and protectionism within the U.S. Congress."

Udis, Bernard.
Lessons from aerospace: the prospects for rationalization in NATO. Orbis, v. 25, spring 1981: 165-196.
Reviews NATO efforts toward collaboration in the development of weapons systems. Surveys motives for collaboration and problems associated with it. Examines European views of U.S. protectionism as an impediment to successful collaboration on a transatlantic basis.

Ulam, Adam.
Europe in Soviet eyes. Problems of communism, v. 32, May-June 1983: 22-30.
"The Marshall Plan brought unprecedented economic prosperity to Western Europe. But the Plan failed to achieve one of its basic aims--the political integration of the West. Current Soviet policy toward Europe is designed to exploit this weakness, nurturing the fragmentation of the European community on the one hand and encouraging and deepening the fissures within the Atlantic Alliance on the other. The Soviet leadership fluctuates over how to accomplish this: by patience and prudence, or by aggressiveness and risk-taking."

Ullman, Harlan K.
Is deterrence dead? RUSI [Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies] v. 130, Sept. 1985: 31-36.
"The purposes of this article are threefold: to identify the major trends and factors which suggest a new or at least changing strategic era may be upon us. To relate those observations to traditional Western notions of deterrence. To prescribe the first stages of a remedial solution for Western security policy."

Ullman, Richard H.
Out of the Euromissile mire. Foreign policy, no. 50, spring 1983: 39-52.
Suggests that the planned NATO deployment of additional intermediate range nuclear forces in Europe may make stability more fragile and verifiable arms control more difficult to achieve. Considers the political impact of an arms control agreement limiting intermediate range forces in Europe, problems of achieving such an agreement, and implications for deterrence.

The U.S. & NATO: should the troops stay? Edited by W. Bruce Weinrod. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1987. 37 p. (Heritage lectures 118)
Contents.--Panel I: Political consideration.--Panel II: Military and security considerations.

U.S. arms and foreign aid. Current history, v. 77, July-Aug. 1979: whole issue.
Contents.--United States foreign aid in perspective, by D. Gordon.--United States aid and the arms trade, by D. Moore.--American policy: arms and aid in Africa, by F. Shams.--Arms, aid and the U.S. presence in the Middle East, by A. Schulz.--Diminishing U.S. aid in Latin America, by R. Alexander.--The compelling imperative: aid in South Asia, by N. Palmer.--United States aid in Southeast Asia, by R. Butwell.

U.S. foreign policy: the Reagan imprint. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, 1986. 177 p.
Contents.--Introduction.--Soviet Union.--Central America.--Middle East.--International economics.--Import policy.--Export policy.

The United States and the Atlantic community: issues and prospects. A series of public lectures held at the University of Texas, spring, 1966. Edited by James R. Roach. Austin, University of Texas Press [1967] 87 p.
"First published in the Texas quarterly volume IX, number 3 (fall 1966)."

U.S. Congress. Conference Committees, 1985.
Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1986; conference report to accompany S. 1160. Washington, G.P.O., 1985. 2 v. (520, 520 p.) (Report, House, 99th Congress, 1st session no. 99-235 Report, Senate, 99th Congress, 1st session no. 99-118)

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Appropriations. Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Related Agencies.
Foreign assistance and related programs appropriations for 1988. Hearings, 100th Congress, 1st session. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 3 v.
Additional volumes will be forthcoming during 1987.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Appropriations. Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations.
Military construction appropriations for 1988. Hearings, 100th Congress, 1st session. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 5 v.
Part 1--Justification of the budget estimates; Army: Appropriation request for fiscal year 1988; Maps of major military installations, by State; Appropriation requests for active forces: Army--military construction, family housing, homeowners assistance; Appropriation requests for reserve components: Army National Guard; Army Reserve.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Appropriations. Subcommittee on the Dept. of Defense.
Department of Defense appropriations for 1988. Hearings, 100th Congress, 1st session. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 1017 p.
Part 1--Secretary of Defense and Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; American security and foreign policies, Secretary of State; Supplemental, fiscal year 1987; Reprogrammings, fiscal year 1986.
Additional segments will be forthcoming during 1987.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services.
Defense Department authorization and oversight hearing on National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal years 1988/1989--H.R. 1748 and oversight of previously authorized programs. Hearing, 100th Congress, 1st session. Mar. 24, 1987. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 161 p.
At head of title: H.A.S.C. no. 100-4.

Full Committee consideration of H.R. 5753, H.R. 5748, H.R. 5766, and H.R. 5580. Hearing, 96th Congress, 1st session. Nov. 7, 1979. Washington, G.P.O., 1979. 30 p.
At head of title: H.A.S.C. no. 96-25.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization Mutual Support Act of 1979; report to accompany H.R. 5580 . . . including cost estimate of the Congressional Budget Office. Washington, G.P.O., 1979. 24 p. (Report, House, 96th Congress, 1st sess, no. 96-612, part 1)

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Defense Policy Panel.
Reykjavik and American security; report. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 31 p.
At head of title: 99th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print no. 26.
"The second report addresses the arms control issues that were the substance of the summit" (Proposals for reducing strategic offensive weapons to zero in 10 years).

The Reykjavik process: preparation for and conduct of the Iceland Summit and its implications for arms control policy; report. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 30 p.
At head of title: 99th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print no. 25.
"Addresses the process underlying the preparation for and the discussions at Reykjavik."

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Delegation to NATO.
NATO and U.S. security: report of the Committee Delegation to NATO, submitted to the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, Ninety-fifth Congress, first session. Washington, G.P.O., 1977. 19 p.

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North Atlantic Treaty Organization--an alliance of shared values; report. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 84 p.
At head of title: 97th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print no. 22.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Delegation to Northern NATO and the Nordic Region.
NATO: a time for renewed commitment; report. Washington, G.P.O., 1984. 27 p.
At head of title: 98th Congress, 2nd session, committee print no. 21.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems Subcommittee.
The dicey impact of a "nuclear freeze" on the defense posture of the free world; report together with dissenting view. Washington, G.P.O., 1983. 20 p.
At head of title: 98th Congress, 1st session. Committee print no. 3.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Research and Development Subcommittee.
Improved conventional force capability: raising the nuclear threshold; a staff study prepared for the Research and Development Subcommittee and Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives 98th Congress, 1st session. Washington, G.P.O., 1984. 13 p.
At head of title: 98th Congress, 1st session. Committee print no. 13.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Special Subcommittee on NATO Standardization, Interoperability and Readiness.
NATO Mutual Support Act of 1979. Hearings on H.R. 4623 and H.R. 5580, 96th Congress, 1st session. Oct. 25, 1979. Washington, G.P.O., 1979. 70 p.
"H.A.S.C. no. 96-22"

NATO Subcommittee 1980 Trip Report; report. Washington, G.P.O., 1981. 57 p.
At head of title: 96th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print no. 33.

Review of operation and maintenance budgets and readiness. Hearings, 96th Congress, 1st session. Dec. 18-19, 1979. Washington, G.P.O., 1980. 110 p.
At head of title: H.A.S.C. no. 96-29.
"Review of the status of our readiness in Europe and the relationship of near term readiness to operation and maintenance accounts."

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs.
Issues in relations between the United States and Western Europe, fall 1981; report of a study mission to Western Europe November 4-13, 1981 to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 29 p.
At head of title: 97th Congress, 1st session. Committee print.

Mutual security program: part 6--Mutual Security Act of 1957 [and] Mutual Security Act of 1958. Selected executive session hearings of the Committee, 1957-60. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 992 p.
Volume XIX--historical series.

NATO and Western security in the 1980's: the European perception; report of a staff study mission to seven NATO countries and Austria, January 2-18, 1980. Apr. 9, 1980. Washington, G.P.O., 1980. 78 p.
At head of title: 96th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization Mutual Support Act of 1979; report to accompany H.R. 5580 . . . including cost estimate of the Congressional Budget Office. Washington, G.P.O., 1979. 17 p. (Report, House, 96th Congress, 1st session, no. 96-612, part 2)

The Reagan-Gorbachev Summit and its implications for United States-Soviet relations. Hearing, 99th Congress, 1st session. Oct. 31, 1985. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 39 p.

United States political-military relations with allies in Southern Europe; report of a staff study mission to Portugal, Spain, Greece, and Turkey, October 15-30, 1986. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 44 p.
At head of title: 100th Congress, 1st session, Committee print.

The United States and Europe: common bonds and differing perspectives; report of the twenty-third meeting of Members of Congress and of the European Parliament, January 19-21, 1984 pursuant to H. Res. 981. Washington, G.P.O., 1984. 46 p.
At head of title: 98th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security and Science.
Implications of abandoning SALT. Hearing, 99th Congress, 2nd session. Apr. 15, 1986. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 31 p.

Reaction to the Rejkjavik proposals. Hearing, 100th Congress, 1st session. Jan. 29, 1987. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 119 p.

The Reykjavik talks: promise or peril; report. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 201 p.
At head of title: 100th Congress, 1st session, committee print.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.
Challenges to NATO's consensus: West European attitudes and U.S. policy; report prepared . . . by the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 82 p.
At head of title: 100th Congress, 1st session. Committee print.
"U.S. leadership of NATO is a key feature of our national security posture. The successful pursuit of U.S. security policy goals depends in many cases on the ability of U.S. policies to attract support among our NATO allies. This report examines the implications for U.S. policy of trends in West European attitudes toward NATO policies and military doctrines. It does not examine the military merits of the concepts and strategies at issue."

Developments in Europe, August 1986. Hearing, 99th Congress, 2nd session. Aug. 7, 1986. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 81 p.

NATO's future role. Hearings, 97th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 130 p.
Hearings held May 20-June 9, 1982.

Political and military issues in the Atlantic Alliance. Hearings, 98th Congress, 2nd session. Aug. 1; Oct. 1, 1984. Washington, G.P.O., 1984. 131 p.

Roundtable discussion on United States policy toward Europe. Hearing, 99th Congress, 2nd session. July 22, 1986. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 28 p.
Focuses on "the main themes of United States foreign policy problems in United States-European relations during the next decade."

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs.
Overview of nuclear arms control and defense strategy in NATO. Hearings before the Subcommittees on International Security and Scientific Affairs and on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 2nd session. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 225 p.
Hearings held Feb. 23, Mar. 18 and 22, 1982.

NATO Mutual Support Act of 1979. Hearing and markup before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittees on International Security and Scientific Affairs and on Europe and the Middle East, House of Representatives, 96th Cong., 1st sess., on H.R. 5580. Nov. 14 and 27, 1979. Washington, G.P.O., 1979. 42 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on the Budget.
President Reagan's fiscal year 1987 budget, a summary and analysis prepared by the staff of the House Budget Committee. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 272 p.
"Serial no. CP-5"
Contents.--Priorities in President Reagan's budget for fiscal year 1987.--Fiscal policy.--The economy: review and outlook.--Revenue and tax policy.--Spending policy by category.--Analysis of selected budget issues and population groups.--Budget process recommendations.--Special analyses.--Highlights and issues by function.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs.
Status of mutual and balanced force reduction (MBFR) negotiations. Hearing, 98th Congress, 1st session. Sept. 22, 1983. Washington, G.P.O., 1984. 88 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations.
The implementation of the NATO long-term defense program (LTDP); first report by the Committee on Government Operations. Washington, G.P.O., 1981. 41 p. (Report, House, 97th Congress, 1st session, no. 97-37)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services.
Department of Defense authorization for appropriations for fiscal year 1987. Hearings, 99th Congress, 2nd session. Feb. 5, 1986. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 540 p. (Hearings, Senate, 99th Congress, 2nd session, S. Hrg. 99-804, Pt. 1)
"S. 2199, to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1987 for the Armed Forces procurement, for research, development, test, and evaluation, for operation and maintenance, and for working capital funds, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes."
Part 1--U.S. military posture, Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.
These hearings, held annually, include discussion of U.S. and allied commitments in Europe and the Pacific. Since 1980, the Defense Department has provided information concerning the cost of the U.S. commitment to NATO, in response to questions from the committee.

NATO Mutual Support Act of 1979; report to accompany H.R. 5580. Washington, G.P.O., 1980. 15 p.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. Procurement Policy and Reprogramming Subcommittee.
NATO support agreements. Hearing, 96th Congress, 2nd session, on H.R. 5580. Jan. 30, 1980. Washington, G.P.O., 1980. 17 p.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations.
NATO--a status report; a report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington, G.P.O., 1980. 24 p.
At head of title: 96th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

NATO Mutual Support Act of 1979; report to accompany H.R. 5580. Washington, G.P.O. 1980. 21 p. (Report, Senate, 96th Congress, 2nd session, no. 96-842)

NATO today: the alliance in evolution; report. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 102 p.
At head of title: 97th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

NATO troop withdrawals. Hearing, 97th Congress, 2nd session. Nov. 30, 1982. Washington, G.P.O., 1982. 88 p.

Turkey, Greece, and NATO: the strained alliance; a staff report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington, G.P.O., 1980. 64 p.
At head of title: 96th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

U.S. security assistance to NATO's southern flank; a report. Washington, G.P.O., 1983. 8 p. (Print, Senate, 98th Congress, 1st session, committee print S. Prt. 98-32)

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on European Affairs.
Crisis of will in the NATO Alliance. Hearing, 99th Congress, 1st session. Sept. 19, 1985. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 81 p. (Hearing, Senate, 99th Congress, 1st session, S. Hrg. 99-400, part 3)

Crisis of will in the Warsaw Pact. Hearing, 99th Congress, 1st session on U.S. policy toward East Europe, West Europe and the Soviet Union. Part 4 of 5. Sept. 19, 1985. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 111 p. (Hearing, Senate, 99th Congress, 1st session, S. Hrg. 99-400, pt. 4)

A NATO strategy for the 1990's. Hearing, 99th Congress, 1st session. Oct. 3, 1985. Part 5. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 263 p. (Hearing, Senate, 99th Congress, 1st session, S. Hrg. 99-460, part 5)

U.S. Congressional Budget Office.
Army ground combat modernization for the 1980s: potential costs and effects for NATO. Washington, For sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O. [1982] 74 p.
Analyzes the effects modernizing NATO army ground combat capabilities would have on the balance of power in Europe, and considers the money needed to achieve these effects. Also examines the growth in U.S. Army operative costs that would attend modernization.

U.S. ground forces: design and cost alternatives for NATO and non-NATO contingencies. Washington, 1980. 87 p.
"Assesses the current capacity of U.S. ground forces to meet the so-called '1 and 1/2 war requirement.' This assessment includes an analysis of the current capabilities of NATO, using ratios of Warsaw Pact to NATO forces, and alternative approaches to improve those capabilities. The analysis also considers the current capabilities and ways to improve the Administration's proposed Rapid Deployment Force."

U.S. defense policy in the 1980s. Daedalus, v. 110, winter 1981: whole issue.
Partial contents.--Toward an American conception of regional security, by M. Nacht.--The superpowers and the Atlantic alliance, by G. Quester.--The Atlantic alliance, by R. Bowie.--Notes on some issues on technology and national defense, by H. Brooks.--Arms control and American defense policy: new alternatives and old realities, by J. Kruzel.--The relevance of arms control in the 1980s, by R. Burt.

U.S. Delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly.
Twenty-fifth meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly held at Ottawa, Canada, October 22 to October 27, 1979. [Washington], G.P.O., 1980. 842 p.
At head of title: 96th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

U.S. Dept. of Defense.
Rationalization/standardization within NATO. [Washington] 1981. 166 p.
Contents.--Introduction and overview.--NATO long-term defense program.--Post-Afghanistan NATO defense measures (phases 1 & 2).--Achieving alliance standardization and interoperability.--Weapon systems standardization programs.--Training.--Military doctrine, exercises, force structure and intelligence.

Report on allied contributions to the common defense; a report to the United States Congress by Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defense. Washington, The Department, 1987. 96 p.
This is the most recent volume in a series of annual reports. The report for 1982 had the same title, but the 1981 report was entitled Report on allied commitment to defense spending.
"The Defense Department . . . shares the continuing interest of the Congress in the question of the sharing of the common defense burden among the United States, its NATO allies, and Japan. This issue often figures, directly or indirectly, in proposals made from time to time for the withdrawal from Europe of substantial numbers of U.S. troops . . . . A principal conclusion is that our allies continue to make a very substantial contribution to the common defense--considerably more than they are often given credit for."

U.S. Dept. of State. Bureau of Intelligence and Research.
Trade of NATO countries with European CEMA countries, 1977-1980. [Washington] 1981. 18 l. (Report 284-AR)
"The tables in this report, one of a series analyzing the trade patterns of Western countries, show values and percentages of trade of NATO countries with European CEMA countries."

U.S. General Accounting Office.
Equitable cost sharing questioned on NATO's airborne early warning and control program; report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States. [Washington] 1980. 32 p.
"ID-80-47, July 1, 1980"
"This is our report on the status of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Airborne Early Warning and Control program and the extent of U.S. participation in the program."

Future NATO funding at collocated operating bases should focus on key needs; Comptroller General's report to the Chairman, House Committee on Appropriations. Washington, G.A.O., 1983. 5 p.
"GAO/C-ID-83-1, Jan. 14, 1983"
"This is an unclassified digest furnished in lieu of a report containing classified security information."

No easy choice: NATO collaboration and the U.S. arms export control issue; report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States. [Washington] 1981. 84 p.
"ID-81-18, Jan. 19, 1981"
"Discusses the conflict between U.S. policy of controlling exports of the military equipment containing U.S. technology and the desire to increase development and production agreements with North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies. The report analyzes the impact U.S. export control policy is having on collaboration and the willingness of the executive branch to modify this policy to increase the amount of collaboration taking place."

U.S. participation in the NATO infrastructure program; report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States. Washington, G.A.O., 1983. 54 p.
"GAO/ID-83-3, Jan. 27, 1983"

U.S. interests and global natural resources: energy, minerals, food. Edited by Emery N. Castle and Kent A. Price. Washington, D.C., Resources for the Future; Baltimore, Distributed by Johns Hopkins University Press, c1983. 147 p.

U.S. military installations in NATO's southern region; report. Prepared for the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, by the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 415 p.

At head of title: 99th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print.

"This report discusses the military installations used by the United States in five nations in NATO's southern region--Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. It briefly reviews the U.S. political-military relationship with each country and each nation's relationship with NATO."

Valley, Bruce L.

Superpower arms control and the NATO allies: a question of interests. Naval War College review, v. 34, Nov.-Dec. 1981: 42-48.

Examines factors which threaten the cohesion of the NATO alliance, including arms control negotiations with the U.S.S.R., technological developments, and political and economic pressures within individual countries to reduce the number of troops committed to NATO.

Vandevanter, Elliot.

Common funding in NATO. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1967. 122 p. (Rand Corporation. Memorandum, RM-5282-PR)

"Research is sponsored by the United States Air Force under Project RAND-contract no. F44620-67-C-0045."

A further inquiry into the nature of alliances: NATO and the OAS. [Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968] 77 p.

How allies collaborate: the NATO training experience. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1968. 56 p. (Rand Corporation. Memorandum RM-5847-PR)

Studies on NATO: an analysis of integration. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1966. 102 p. (Rand Corporation. Memorandum, RM-5006-PR)

Vasconcelos, Alvaro.

Portugal and NATO. NATO review, v. 34, Apr. 1986: 8-14.

"Three categories of events--political democracy, the end of the colonial empire and, finally, membership of the European Community since the beginning of this year--have concurred to reinforce . . . [Portugal's] NATO option and its commitment to the common Western defence effort."

Vayrynen, Raimo.

Eurostrategic arms race: doctrine[s] and their implications. Current research on peace and violence, v. 4, no. 1, 1981: 1-32.

The author, who is affiliated with the Department of Political Science at the University of Helsinki, surveys NATO and Soviet strategic doctrines, and discusses the implications of a shift from deterrence to war-fighting strategies for the allies of the superpowers. He reviews the growth of Eurostrategic systems and considers the prospects for nuclear disarmament in Europe.

Vermaat, J. A. Emerson.

The strange phenomenon of the "generals for peace." Strategic review, v. 13, spring 1985: 52-59.

"The appearance in Western Europe of a growing number of special interest groups 'for peace' reflects the decision by the International Department of the CPSU in Moscow to create a new facade of front organizations able to attract the professional and intellectual classes to the banners of the peace movement. Prominent among them has been a small but widely publicized group of 'Generals for Peace and Disarmament,' composed of retired military men from various NATO countries . . . . With some variations among its members, the group has faithfully echoed the Soviet line, particularly in its pronouncements on the key issues of the arms debate in Europe."

Vinocur, John.

Europe's intellectuals and American power. New York times magazine, Apr. 29, 1984: 60, 62, 64, 68, 71, 73-74, 76, 78.

Focusing on French and West German intellectuals, the author discusses current attitudes to the U.S., especially attitudes towards deployment of immediate range nuclear weapons.

Viotti, Paul R.

European peace movements and missile deployments. Armed forces & society, v. 11, summer 1985: 505-521.

"Peace movements are nationally oriented with much less transnational collaboration than is usually imagined . . . . They remain in the minority in the INF-deploying countries . . . . Strength varies from country to country . . . there are significant differences in enthusiasm for peace movement activity between Protestants and Catholics and between northern and southern Europeans."

Vogel, Heinrich.

Western security and the Eastern bloc economy. Washington quarterly, v. 7, spring 1984: 42-50.

"The coherent formulation of Western security concerns and economic policies in Eastern Europe is feasible only in an environment of carefully designed cooperation with the Soviet Union," argues the author.

VonRaven, Wolfram.

M.B.F.R. in its seventh year: more promising than risky? More risky than promising? Canadian defense quarterly, v. 9, winter 1980: 22-26.

VonStaden, Berndt.

Perspectives of German foreign policy. Aussenpolitik, v. 36, no. 1, 1985: 11-24.

Walker, John A. S.

Partners in science: the NATO science for stability programme. NATO review, v. 34, June 1986: 24-29.

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of NATO's Scientific Affairs Division discusses "the most dramatic, manifestation of the economic cooperation envisaged under Article 2--the NATO Science for Stability Programme . . . . The aim of Science for Stability is to assist Greece, Portugal and Turkey to enhance their scientific and technological contributions to their economies and thus to improve their national well-being."

Walker, Wallace Earl. Krepinevich, Andrew F.

No first use and conventional deterrence: the politics of defense policymaking. In The Presidency and national security policy. New York, Center for the Study of the Presidency [c1984] (Proceedings, v. 5, no. 1, 1984) p. 355-377, 453-455.

"Focuses on the American domestic political environment and its role in the defense policy process. That environment imposes substantial constraints on any administration's freedom of action in defense policymaking . . . . In order to understand the prospects for an enhanced conventional deterrent in NATO, we must first examine America's perception of the Alliance and the implications involved in adopting such a policy."

Wall, Patrick.

Advice to the alliance: how to strengthen NATO's unity and effectiveness. Sea power, v. 28, Apr. 1985: 108, 112, 117-121.

"A conservative member of Parliament since 1954, Sir Patrick Wall is a member of the British Select Committee on Defence, president of the North Atlantic Assembly, and former chairman of the Assembly's Defence Committee. Sea Power asked him to develop, from that special vantage point, his recommendations for this special Sea-Air-Space issue on what should be done to strengthen NATO's unity and effectiveness. His 'Advice to the Alliance' incorporates his personal views and does not necessarily reflect either the policies of Her Majesty's Government or the collective judgement of NATO as a whole."

NATO from north of Norway to south of Simonstown, by Patrick Wall, Vincent C. Thomas, and James D. Hessman. Sea power, v. 27, Nov. 1984: 57-62, 65, 67-69, 71.

In this interview, Sir Patrick Wall, President of the North Atlantic Assembly discusses "problems facing the alliance and NATO matters in general."

NATO's vulnerable northern flank. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 24, spring 1986: 57-62.

Concludes that "NATO's northern flank is vulnerable--perhaps the most vulnerable of the alliance's many potential theaters of combat--and only a display of allied unity would convince the Russians that any attack will be answered by the whole strength of NATO."

A net naval assessment. Sea power, v. 27, Oct. 1984: 6-8, 10-12.

The author, a Tory Member of Parliament, president of the North Atlantic Assembly, and former chairman of the Assembly's Defence Committee provides "what might be described as a 'line item' analysis of some of the factors that must be considered in developing a net assessment of the current naval/military balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact."

Wallace, John F.

NATO's Achilles heel civil defence. NATO review, v. 28, Feb. 1980: 20-23.

"Since its early days, Civil Emergency Planning has played a part in the Alliance's defense posture, but its role has varied according to prevailing concepts." The article, "makes a strong plea for a greater emphasis on civil defence, which is one aspect of the broad field covered by Civil Emergency Planning."

Wallace, William.

European defense co-operation: the reopening debate. Survival, v. 26, Nov.-Dec. 1984: 251-262.

The War game. Washington post, Nov. 15, 1981: A1, A24-A25; Nov. 16: A1, A10-11; Nov. 17: A1, A27; Nov. 18: A1, A26; Nov. 19: A1, A10; Nov. 20: A1, A24.

Contents.--NATO strategy questioned, by B. Graham.--German heartland uneasy.--NATO's nuclear strategy devised in political vacuum, by W. Pincus and B. Graham.--Ban the bomb: growing protest movement seeks neutral 'calm space', by L. Downie, Jr.--Arms decision stirred storm around NATO, by W. Pincus.--U.S. bombers in Britain become superpower pawns, by L. Downie Jr.--Allies seeking greater role in nuclear weapons policy, by W. Pincus.

The Warsaw Pact: political purpose & military means. Edited by Robert W. Clawson and Lawrence S. Kaplan. Wilmington, Del., Scholarly Resources, 1982. 297 p.

Contents.--The principal political relationship.--NATO and the Warsaw Pact.--The forces.--The weapons.--Doctrine and capabilities.

Wasserman, Gary.

The foreign aid dilemma. Washington quarterly, v. 6, winter 1983: 96-106.

Examines the tension between security interests and development assistance objectives in allocating foreign aid by reviewing aid policies during the Carter and Reagan Administrations. Analyzes the strengths and inadequacies of both security and development perspectives on foreign assistance programs, and suggests that both perspectives are needed.

Wasson, Glenn.

NATO defense budget still short. Defense electronics, v. 14, May 1982: 62, 68, 71.

"Except for France, most of the NATO partners have failed to meet their pledge of 3 percent increase in real growth."

Weinberger, Caspar.

Assessing current NATO strategy. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 29, Nov.-Dec. 1984: 38-41.

"NATO's strategy comes under criticism from time to time. This has been apparent recently in particular when senior political figures and larger political groupings in several allied countries are calling for a fundamental revision. Clearly, concepts and doctrines must move with the times and be kept up to date. The US Secretary of Defense, Mr. Caspar Weinberger, shows the basic reasoning for NATO's strategy of Forward Defense and Flexible Response when the concept first emerged and sets it into the present day."

Consensus: the cement of the Alliance. In The Presidency and national security policy. New York, Center for the Study of the Presidency [c1984] (Proceedings, v. 5, no. 1, 1984) p. 14-22.

Emphasizes the need for consensus in the Western Alliance to keep it alive in spite of a difference in the opinions among its members.

The inheritors of the Marshall Plan. Defense issues, v. 2, no. 35, 1987: 1-4.

In this June 3, 1987 speech, Secretary of Defense discusses the legacy of the Marshall Plan before the "the English Speaking Unions' 40th Anniversary of the Marshall Plan, London, England . . . . The horizon of Europe's and America's future--in truth, the future of free government--reveals perils no less significant than those which the Marshall Plan met and surmounted a generation ago."

NATO: more than just a military alliance. Defence issues, v. 2, no. 34, 1987: 1-4.

In this May 25, 1987 speech before the Center for Defense Studies, Brussels, Belgium, Secretary of Defense discusses U.S. commitments to NATO. States that "unequivocally . . . the United States has exactly the same deep and vital stake in NATO and the defense of Europe that it has had since World War II and, . . . always will have.

Security assistance: the critical need for funding; a critical year for the program. Defense issues, v. 2, no. 22, 1987: 1-8.

In this statement on Feb. 18, 1987, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Secretary of Defense discusses the President's 1988 budget request; programs for various parts of the world; and security assistance programs.

Why offense needs defense. Foreign policy, no. 68, fall 1987: 3-18.

Weinrod, W. Bruce. Hamm, Manfred R.
Strategic defense and America's allies. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1985. 15 p. (Backgrounder no. 425)

"European concerns about SDI are understandable and legitimate. Any change in U.S. nuclear policy, or in the overall U.S.-Soviet strategic relationship, inevitably affects the allies . . . . A number of West European leaders appear to have reservations about SDI in general, its impact on the East-West balance, and most particularly, its effect on the U.S. ability to defend its NATO allies. The Soviet Union . . . is already trying to use SDI as a wedge to push the allies away from Washington."

Weiss, Seymour. Adelman, Kenneth.
A critical phase in trans-Atlantic relations. Strategic review, v. 9, spring 1981: 24-34.

"The current trans-Atlantic stresses in NATO are the accumulation of hardening differences in political, economic and security perceptions, with growing emphasis on such problem areas as East-West detente, the shifting balance of power and the defense of common interests beyond the NATO region."

Wendt, James C.
Improving the NATO force planning process: lessons from past efforts. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand [1986] 42 p.

West Europe. Current history, v. 83, Apr. 1984: whole issue.

Contents.--European-American relations and NATO's initial missile deployments, by D. Yost.--A new era in West Germany, by G. Braunthal.--France under the socialists, by M. Harrison.--British foreign policy, by M. Edmonds.--A change in Italy's choirmaster? by L. Carner.--Spain's socialists: a new center party? by M. Serfaty.--Divided Belgium walks a tightrope, by P. Laurent.--Norway's rendezvous with modernity, by F. Hale.

Western defense: the European role in NATO. [Washington, U.S. Dept. of State, 1985] 24 p.

The pamphlet describes the European contribution to the common NATO defense.

Western Europe: security in the balance. International journal, v. 40, winter 1984-85: whole issue (206 p.)

Contents.--The United States and NATO: the new agenda, by A. Pierre.--Soviet perspectives on European security, by J. Hough.--The INF negotiations and the prospects for nuclear arms control in Europe, by P. Buteux.--Germany and the Euromissile debate, by H. Haftendorn.--France: its defence and European security, by M. Smouts.--West European security collaboration: driving forces and prospects, by S. May.--European economic security: How can we master the modern economy? by J. Pinder.--Consensus, compromise, and crusades: the domestic politics of European security, by R. Jackson.

Wettern, Desmond.
Allies on the sea: the 'other' navies of NATO. Sea power, v. 30, Apr. 1987: 33, 35, 37, 39, 43, 45, 47-49.
Country-by-country analysis of NATO's navies.

The essence of the Soviet threat dialectic. Aussenpolitk, v. 35, no. 1, 1984: 31-43.
The author examines "Moscow's endeavor to establish a regional military supremacy in Europe and to decouple the European theatre from the balance of mutual deterrence governing relations between the two superpowers." Wettig contends that the security concepts of the Soviet Union and NATO are totally incompatible because of "the Soviets' categorical rejection of the deterrence concept in the place of which they put the guiding principle of an indispensable ensurance of a Soviet capability to wage war."

The Garthoff-Pipes debate of Soviet strategic doctrine: a European perspective. Strategic review, v. 11, spring 1983: 68-78.
"The debate between Ambassador Garthoff and Professor Pipes over Soviet strategic doctrine (Strategic Review, Fall 1982) demonstrates how differing interpretations can be drawn from the same Soviet sources: it also illuminates the dangers of reading into Soviet statements the same motives and concepts that shape Western strategic views and hopes. For reasons both of ideology and historical experience, the Soviets cannot accept any notion of shared security with their opponents, be that 'mutual deterrence' or Mutual Assured Destruction. Nor can they accept a theory of armed force that, once invoked, is directed at anything short of victory."

How the INF negotiations in Geneva failed. Aussenpolitik, v. 35, no. 2, 1984: 123-139.

The mix of interests in East-West relations. Aussenpolitik, v. 33, Jan. 1982: 74-86.
"Even if it were to continue the policy aimed at preventing a war in the European-Atlantic region, the Kremlin has . . . created a long-term global threat to the West that could, among other things, affect the Western world's energy and raw materials supplies."

The new peace movement in Germany. Aussenpolitik, v. 33, no. 3, 1982: 219-233.
"Analyses a movement that distances itself from the values of our performance-oriented industrial society and turns towards the new values of self-realisation . . . . War prevention and peace preservation through the instruments of deterrence are equated with war preparation without heed for the lessons of the past decades. Naturally, such a movement benefits the interests of the Soviet Union. But this does not mean that the German communists identify themselves with the peace movement . . . . The peace movement has been harnessed to the East Bloc's political objectives and in this function it is naturally being promoted and exploited."

The problem of military balance of power. Aussenpolitik, v. 33, no. 4, 1982: 348-355.
"The solution of complicated arms control problems becomes easier once military balance is no longer defined as equality of armament potentials but as equality of military options."

Sharing the burden: the European Members' naval contribution to NATO. Sea power, v. 26, Nov. 1983: 20-21, 23-24, 26-28, 31.
Surveys the navies of the Western European Members of NATO, and discusses how those navies contribute to the defense of the Alliance.

Soviet Westpolitik at the transition to Andropov. Aussenpolitik, v. 34, 1983: 122-134.

The transatlantic base. Sea power, v. 26, Apr. 1983: 130, 135-136, 138, 141, 143, 145.
Considers standardization among NATO countries in naval procurement programs.

Wartime adaptation of merchant ships. Sea power, v. 26, June 1983: 37-39, 41-42, 44, 47.
The author reviews the symposium on Wartime Adaptation of Merchant Ships, held in London, April 20-21, 1983. "The twofold purpose of the symposium was: (1) to consider the problems of installing defensive equipment in merchant ships; and (2) to determine the types of equipment available and the types needed."

Whence the threat to peace. 3rd ed. Moscow, Military Publishing House, 1984. 95 p.
This Russian publication states in the introduction, that its "aim is to comment on the new developments in the international situation, the state of the American war machine, and US and NATO military strategy that have emerged in the two years since the previous edition. New sections have been introduced--on verification of the signed treaties and agreements and on prevention of the militarization of outer space. Information about general purpose forces and chemical weapons has been expanded. The true causes of the breakdown of the nuclear arms talks, and also the substance of the Soviet countermeasures, are fully discussed."

White, Andrew.
European perspectives on the Strategic Defense Initiative. Millennium: journal of international studies, v. 15, summer 1986: 211-222.
"The purpose of this article is to outline and evaluate some of the key arguments about the implications of the SDI for Europe . . . to show how crucial issues are not being seriously addressed at all."

Whitehurst, Clinton H., Jr.
Portugal's strategic importance in NATO defense planning. [Clemson, S.C.] Strom Thurmond Institute, Clemson University, 1986. 17 p. (Thurmond Institute lectures)

Wickham, John A., Jr.
Reinforcing and strengthening the conventional defense. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 28, no. 1, 1983: 92-95, 97-98.

Wiebes, Cees. Zeeman, Bert.
The Pentagon negotiations March 1948: the launching of the North Atlantic Treaty. International affairs (London), v. 59, summer 1983: 351-363.
"According to official NATO historiography, the negotiations that led to the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty started on 6 July 1948 in Washington. However, for a few years it has been known that negotiations on a security treaty between the United States and West European nations had already been conducted before that date."

Wieck, Hans-Georg.
The future of East-West relations. NATO review, v. 29, Dec. 1981: 13-18.
Considers the implications of Soviet military developments and foreign policy initiatives for the security of the North Atlantic Alliance.

Wieseltier, Leon.
The great nuclear debate. New republic, v. 188, Jan. 10 & 17, 1983: 7-12, 14-18, 20-21, 24-25, 28-32, 34-36, 38.
Contents.--The party of peace.--The party of war.--The case of Europe.--And so, deterrence.

What went wrong? An appraisal of Reagan's foreign policy. New York times magazine, Dec. 7, 1986: 42-47, 136-137, 148.

"The White House assembles facts into a picture of the world that will always confirm its decisions, writes the author . . . . It is the author's opinion that if U.S. foreign policy is to recover from the Reagan era, it must confront the world as it really is."

Wigg, Richard.

Neighbors with their backs to each other. NATO's sixteen nations, v. 28, no. 6, 1983: 44-45, 48.

Examines relations between Spain and Portugal, especially friction regarding the implications of Spain's membership in NATO.

Wilhelm, John K.

Grasping nettles: the future of AID. Foreign Service journal, v. 60, Nov. 1983: 28-31, 38-39.

Examines the work of the Commission on Security and Economic Assistance, which was formed "to develop a new consensus on this country's multifarious aid programs and policies."

Will Europe fight for oil?: energy relations in the Atlantic area. Edited by Robert J. Lieber. New York, N.Y., Praeger, 1983. 230 p.

Williams, E. Cameron.

The four "iron laws" of naval protection of merchant shipping. Naval War College review, v. 39, May-June 1986: 35-42.

"The history of naval control and protection of merchant shipping in time of war is particularly relevant to naval officers, since the North Atlantic Treaty commits the United States, in effect, to a maritime war in the Atlantic, should the treaty come into force. An important naval concern in such a war will certainly be the protection of the sea lines of communication joining the United States and its European allies."

Williams, Geoffrey Lee.

The European defence initative: Europe's bid for equality. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1986. 242 p.

Williams, James H.

NATO: out-of-sector interests in the Middle East. Military review, v. 65, Oct. 1985: 54-63.

"Although the United States and its NATO partners continue to focus on the possibility of war in Central Europe, some observers think they may be looking in the wrong direction. This article contends that NATO's most likely threat comes from the Middle East and options should be examined to deal with contingencies in the area."

Williams, Phil.

Arms control and European security: competing conceptions for the 1980s. Arms control, v. 4, Sept. 1983: 75-96.

"What often appear to be arguments over arms control are really arguments over the nature of the 'real' threats to European security."

The Nunn Amendment, burdensharing and US troops in Europe. Survival, v. 27, Jan.-Feb. 1985: 2-10.

"The Nunn Amendment was a carefully crafted proposal mandating US troop reductions in Europe unless the Allies met certain specific requirements." Examines this proposal and considers its implications on burden sharing.

The United States' commitment to Western Europe: strategic ambiguity and political disintegration? International affairs, v. 59, spring 1983: 195-209.

The author's objective is to "analyse the American commitment to Western Europe in an attempt both to identify its strengths and weaknesses and to assess its durability and resilience."

US troops in Europe. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul [1984?] 87 p. (Chatham House papers no. 25)

"This paper analyzes the contribution of the American military presence to the security of Western Europe; examines the advantages and shortcomings of proposals for strengthening NATO's conventional capacity; and considers the consequences of a reduction in the American troop contingent. The author concludes that reforms are essential if the cohesion of the Alliance is not to be severely strained."

Williams, Roger.

British scientists and the bomb: the decisions of 1980. Government and opposition, v. 16, summer 1981: 267-292.

Examines "the limited political response of the British scientific community to the nuclear weapons decisions of 1980."

Wilson, Pete.

A missile defense for NATO: we must respond to the challenge. Strategic review, v. 14, spring 1986: 9-15.

"A new threat dimension confronted by NATO in conventionally armed Soviet missiles in Europe are compelling, as is his rationale for an anti-tactical ballistic missile defense ATBM as the indispensable answer. The United States must urgently accept the challenge of building such a defense in concert with its allies."

Wilson, Theodore A.

The Marshall Plan: an Atlantic venture of 1947-1951 and how it shaped our world. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1977 64 p. (Headline series, 236)

Contents.--The Marshall Plan after thirty years.--The policy cauldron.--The European response.--Selling the Marshall Plan.--The Plan in operation.--Assessments.--Is the Marshall Plan relevant today?

Windsor, Philip.

Germany and the Western Alliance: lessons from the 1980 crises. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies [1981] 30 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 170)

Contents.--The context of the Alliance.--The German background.--The crises.--The Federal Republic and the future of the Alliance.--Conclusions.

Restoring the dynamic of arms control. Millennium, v. 11, spring 1982: 74-80.

The author attempts "to examine some of the reasons for the comparative failure of arms control over the past decade, and to see whether it can recapture its dynamic." He discusses Western European fears that the arms race is becoming more dangerous, that U.S. deterrent power is waning, and that the American commitment to Europe is weakening.

Winkler, Theodor H.

Arms control and the politics of European security. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies [1982] 43 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 177)

Contents.--The trend towards multilateralism in European arms control.--Multilateral arms control in Europe: the political setting.--Lessons from the past.--Prospects and limitations of European arms control.--The relevance of the past for the future.

Winters, Francis X.

After tension, detente: a continuing chronicle of European episcopal views on nuclear deterrence. Theological studies, v. 45, June 1984: 343-351.

"Summation of the British, French, German, Dutch, and Belgian episcopal positions on deterrence, we complete the survey of official Catholic contributions to the redefinition of public opinion within the nations of the Atlantic community on the volatile question of nuclear strategy; for the remaining NATO national hierarchies (Norway and Denmark on the northern flank and Greece and Turkey on the south, along with Italy) have remained silent on the question."

Wisner, Kent F.

Military aspects of enhanced radiation weapons ERW. Survival, v. 23, Nov.-Dec. 1981: 246-251.

Examines "the likely military effects of ERW, as opposed to present tactical nuclear systems in Europe, in the light of what is known publicly about Soviet tank and armour tactics."

Wohlstetter, Albert.
Bishops, statesmen, and other strategists on the bombing of innocents. Commentary, v. 75, June 1983: 15-35.
Discusses the dilemma of the West to use atomic weapons in response to conventional attack.

Meeting the threat in the Persian Gulf. Survey, v. 25, spring 1981: 128-188.
Reviews NATO and Soviet interests in the Persian Gulf. Outlines suggestions for improving U.S. policies and power projection capabilities in the region, including contributions which extraregional allies could make toward defending the Gulf. Charts indicate Western consumption of Persian Gulf oil, the utility of various bases for defending the upper Gulf from Soviet attack, and Turkish based aircraft radii.

Wolfe, Alan.
After deployment: the emergence of a new Europe. World policy journal, v. 1, spring 1984: 549-574.
"To bring some perspective to the movement for a more autonomous Europe and its implications for U.S. foreign policy is the purpose of this essay . . . . Any new NATO weapons that Washington endorses will necessarily reaffirm Europe's governments, and raising fears of nuclear insecurity."

Womer, Norman Keith.
NATO: costs and opportunities. [Clemson, S.C.] Strom Thurmond Institute, Clemson University, 1986. 29 p. (Working paper series WP010785)
"Explores a system of direct sales of conventional arms as a means of reducing costs. Such a system may well have the advantage of promoting standardization within NATO, of maintaining . . . competition in the development of weapons, of maintaining a defense industrial base in each country, of strengthening the NATO alliance, and of reducing costs of conventional arms."

Wood, Robert S. Hanley, John T., Jr.
The maritime role in the North Atlantic. Naval War College review, v. 38, Nov.-Dec. 1985: 5-18.
"Sea control is required for power projection, and projection of power by maritime forces plays a major role in the defense of the alliance. Given Soviet priorities and Nato capabilities, sea control can be established more rapidly by going after the Soviet fleet rather than awaiting their attack."

Woodard, Susan P.
The foreign aid program: a time for re-evaluation. Washington, Heritage Foundation, 1979. 16 p. (Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. Backgrounder no. 94
Examines "the role of foreign aid today in light of its post-war developments to determine if the various programs are still serving their originally intended purposes."

Worner, Manfred.
The challange of international security. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 19, winter 1981-82: 435-440.
The author, Chairman of the Defense Committee of the West German Bundestag, lists 7 facts which NATO countries will need to make clear to their populations to address the threat posed to national security by increasing pressure for unilateral disarmament and by increasing anti-Americanism. He briefly considers other security problems confronting the European countries of NATO.

Current prospects for European security. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 21, fall 1983: 226-232.

A missile defense for NATO Europe. Strategic review, v. 14, winter 1986: 13-20.
"Although definitive judgments must await the ultimate findings of the research effort, the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative carries positive implications for the NATO Alliance as a whole, particularly in light of existing capabilities and continuing efforts by the Soviet Union in the arena of defenses against ballistic missiles. Meanwhile, however, a more imminent threat casts its shadow on NATO Europe: the growing Soviet capacity, afforded by technological advances, to employ their massive

arsenals of mid- and short-range missiles as conventional firepower against prime NATO targets heretofore assigned to attacking aircraft or nuclear forces."

NATO defenses and tactical nuclear weapons. Strategic review, v. 5, fall 1977: 11-18.

The "peace movement" and NATO: an alternative view from Bonn. Strategic review, v. 10, winter 1982: 15-21.

The author contends that the most disturbing symptom of the antinuclear peace movement in West Germany is "a spreading 'neutralism of values' that conceivably could be given nationalist-neutralist directions. Defeating the phenomenon will be the function of leadership courage, particularly with respect to mobilizing a silent majority that still clings to the values of the Alliance--a courage that faces its crucial test in the implementation of the NATO nuclear decision. It calls for a clear and concerted message beamed by all the NATO member governments to their constituencies."

SALT II: a European prospective. Strategic review, v. 7, summer 1979: 9-15.

Security policy perspectives and tasks of the North Atlantic alliance in the light of changing East-West relations. Armed Forces journal international, v. 124, Mar. 1987: 38, 40, 42.

Contends that "there is no substitute for the nuclear strategy which has helped perserve the peace of America and Europe."

Yost, David S.

Ballistic missile defense and the Atlantic Alliance. International security, v. 7, fall 1982: 143-174.

"Although active defense of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) seems the most likely application for BMD, other strategic defense options are reportedly under consideration. European-based BMD against theater ballistic missiles such as the SS-20, SS-21, SS-22, and SS-23 is being examined as well. Such defenses are known as anti-tactical ballistic missiles (ATBM) or anti-tactical missiles (ATM) . . . . The political and strategic issues that BMD programs could raise within the Alliance should be explored as deliberately as possible before economic resources are committed."

Beyond MBFR: the Atlantic to the Urals gambit. Orbis, v. 31, spring 1987: 99-134.

"The relatioship between MBFR and the NATO initiative for a new conventional arms control forum is complex. Despite their professed interest in concluding an MBFR agreement, the NATO participants apparently regard it as an increasingly unlikely prospect, owing to the Soviet Union's long-standing refusal to accept the verification measures proposed by the West. Various Warsaw Pact pronouncements have signaled declining Eastern interest in MBFR and a preference for an Atlantic-to-the-Urals zone."

European-American relations and NATO's initial missile deployments. Current history, v. 83, Apr. 1984: 145-148, 184-186.

European security and the SALT process. Washington, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University [1981] 96 p. (Washington papers 85)

Soviet ballistic missile defense and NATO. Orbis, v. 29, summer 1985: 281-292.

"Soviet ballistic missile defense (BMD) capabilities and research activities have, by contrast, been relatively neglected. This neglect is unfortunate, because it promotes misleading impressions about the strategic context of the SDI, and obscures the fundamental political military challenges that Soviet BMD could pose."

START, INF and European security. World today, v. 39, Nov. 1983: 417-428.
"Western Europe has a vital stake in the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on both strategic arms reduction (START) and intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) . . . . The issue of whether START and INF should be linked or kept separate must ultimately take second place to the risks of cultivating high expectations about achieving security through arms contol."

Zagladin, Vadim.
The other side of the Hill: the Western threat to the Soviet Union. NATO's fifteen nations, Aug.-Sept. 1982: 22-24, 26.
"Professor Vadim Zagladin, a senior member of the Soviet administration [who] has considerable experience of Western countries . . . expounds the Soviet point of view. He gives a full analysis of the inception and the development of the threat to the Soviet Union as seen there and states its aims and position."

Zakheim, Dov. S.
Towards a western approach to the Indian Ocean. Survival, v. 22, Jan.-Feb. 1981: 7-14.
Describes objectives to be served by a western naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Suggests that NATO allies should work together to provide such a force, in response to a problem they all share: maintaining access to supplies of raw materials from the Indian Ocean region.

The unforeseen contingency: reflections on strategy. Washington quarterly, v. 5, autumn 1982: 158-166.
"The loss of strategic superiority requires the United States to develop a new strategy with the necessary flexibility to meet simultaneous crises on several fronts."

Zelikow, Philip.
Visions of the future war in Europe. Fletcher forum, v. 7, summer 1983: 313-321.
"Philip Zelikow reveals some of the assumptions and habits of thinking that have conditioned NATO planning for the future war in Europe. Zelikow discusses Western scenarios as to how the war may start, develop and end." He suggests planners consider the possibility that the next war could be long, involving extraordinary attrition of resources.

Zimmerman, Peter D. Greb, G. Allen.
The bottom rung of the ladder: battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe. Naval War College review, v. 35, Nov.-Dec. 1982: 35-51.
"It is our purpose to show in this paper that Western technical superiority with conventional munitions can be exploited in such a way as to provide a cost-effective nonnuclear defense of Europe."

Zoppo, Ciro Elliott.
The Left and European security: France, Italy, and Spain. Orbis, v. 24, summer 1980: 289-310.

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RESOLVED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD REDUCE SIGNIFICANTLY ITS MILITARY COMMITMENTS TO NATO MEMBER STATES

A Guide to Information Sources on the 1987-1988 Intercollegiate Debate Topic

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A GUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES
on the 1987-1988
College Debate Topic

INTRODUCTION

This research guide identifies sources of information on U.S. policy in NATO and related topics that will be discussed by college debaters. It describes reference and research tools and provides search strategies that might be used when consulting these tools.

The guide is divided into two parts. The first part describes basic research sources, and the second part describes specialized reference sources regarding issues in U.S. NATO policy.

Selected SEARCH TERMS are identified in the text. They are suggestive of some principal topics the researcher may wish to search under and are intended to help define a research strategy, not to limit it.

RESEARCH SOURCES

This is a list of key research tools described in this guide, and the page where each is mentioned.

ABC POL SCI 11
Air University Library Index to Military Periodicals 11
American Statistics Index 7
Bell and Howell Newspaper Indexes 4
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Major Legislation of the Congress 6
Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications 5
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Statistical Reference Index 7
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Univeristy Microfilms Newspaper Indexes 4
Wall Street Journal Index 3
Washington Information Directory 13
Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 5
VUTEXT 4

PART I. GENERAL REFERENCE SOURCES

BOOKS

Many libraries around the country, especially large college and research libraries, use Library of Congress subject headings in their catalogs. To learn how books on NATO and U.S. foreign and defense policy are categorized in these libraries, consult the two volume guide, Library of Congress Subject Headings; it is usually kept near the automated catalog or card catalog. The most relevant LC subject headings for NATO issues are listed below:

Alliances
Debts, External--(subdivided by location)
Economic assistance, American--(subdivided by location)
Foreign economic relations--(subdivided by location)
Foreign relations
Foreign trade regulation
International relations
Military policy--(subdivided by location)
Military assistance, American--(subdivided by location)
North Atlantic Treaty, 1949
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Politics and government--(subdivided by location)
Security, International
Treaties
United States--Commerce--(subdivided by location)
United States--Foreign relations
United States--National security
United States--Foreign relations--(subdivided by country name)
(specific countries by name)

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Citations to journal articles and other materials about U.S.-NATO policy can be found in a number of printed indexes and online bibliographic data bases. The materials covered by the printed indexes are briefly described here and search strategies are given.

Online bibliographic data bases enable the researcher to locate citations to journal articles and other materials quickly by using a computer terminal to search a machine-readable file. Online data bases allow the researcher to combine search terms in ways that are impossible in a printed index or library catalog and to simultaneously search material that would be contained in printed index volumes covering several years. Many of the printed indexes described in this guide are also available as online data bases. A reference librarian can advise you on the availability of computerized search services in your area; there may be a fee for use.

Another alternative form for printed indexes is available via the new CD ROM (Compact Disk Read Only Memory) technology. CR ROM systems may be available in some college or research libraries. This technology enables a user to search materials available in printed and online indexes using a personal computer. Some systems make copies of articles available through microform. A user fee may be charged.

MAGAZINE INDEX (microfilm)

Magazine Index provides citations to materials in over 400 popular magazines, focusing on coverage of current affairs, leisure time activities, arts, sports, and science and technology. References from the last five years are listed alphabetically by subject and author in one alphabetical display on the Magazine Index microfilm reader-terminal. The Index is updated monthly, and uses Library of Congress subject headings. Consult the list given above or the two-volume Library of Congress Subject Headings for appropriate search terms.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS INFORMATION SERVICE (PAIS)

PAIS is a subject index of books, pamphlets, government publications, reports of public and private agencies, and periodical articles relating to economic and social conditions, public administration, and international relations. It is issued monthly; there are also three quarterly cumulations and an annual bound volume with an author index. Some search terms are listed below; also use PAIS cross-references.

Atlantic Community
Commerce
Debts, External
Diplomacy
Economic assistance
Export-import trade
Foreign relations
International security
Loans, Foreign
Military assistance
Military strategy
National Defense
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
North Atlantic Council
Technical assistance
United States--Military policy
United States--Foreign relations--(subdivided by names of countries)
Warsaw Treaty Organization

READER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The Reader's Guide is an author/subject index to over 180 periodicals of general interest published in the United States and Canada. It is published twice a month September to December and in March, April, and June; it appears monthly in January, February, May, July, and August. The quarterly and annual cumulations can expedite your search. Search under Library of Congress subject headings and the Reader's Guide's cross-references, which include:

Economic assistance, American
Military assistance, American
Military missions
Military maneuvers
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
United States--Military policy
United States--Foreign relations--(subdivided by names of countries)

INDEX TO LEGAL PERIODICALS

The index lists articles "of high quality and permanent reference value" in legal periodicals published in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and other English language countries. The articles are indexed under author and subject. A complete list of subjects is included at the front of each bound volume.

Disarmament
Foreign relations
Foreign relations of the United States
International law
International trade

International economic relations
Investments--Foreign
National defense
Specific countries by name
Trade regulations
Treaties
War and emergency powers
Weapons

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

The New York Times Index provides extensive abstracts for articles appearing in the New York Times. It is issued twice a month, with quarterly and annual cumulations. Consult "How to use the New York Times Index" in the index volume itself for guidance. Examples of some search terms are provided.

Armament
Arms control
Arms sales abroad
Foreign aid
Foreign investments
International relations
Military strategy and tactics
North American Treaty Organization (NATO)
Specific countries by name

OFFICIAL WASHINGTON POST INDEX

The Index provides access to all substantial newsworthy items in this paper. It is issued monthly and cumulated annually.

Armaments
Arms control
Attack and defense (Military science)
Debts, external
Economic assistance
Foreign relations
Free trade and protection
Military expenditures
Military assistance
North American Treaty Organization (NATO)
Specific countries by name
Technical assistance

WALL STREET JOURNAL INDEX

The Wall Street Journal Index is issued monthly and has annual cumulations. Check under the General News section.

Armaments
Debts--Foreign
Foreign relations
Foreign aid
Loans
North American Treaty Organization (NATO)
Specific countries by name

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER INDEX (microfilm)

National Newpaper Index indexes the Christian Science Monitor, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, and Washington Post. References from the last five years are listed alphabetically by subject headings. Cross references are included to aid searching. An online version of this index is available commercially.

OTHER NEWSPAPER INDEXES

Bell & Howell Co. produces a set of indexes which list articles appearing in the Boston Globe, Christian Science Monitor, Denver Post, Detroit News, Houston Post, Los Angeles Times, New Orleans Times-Picayune, San Francisco Chronicle, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and USA Today. University Microfilms International produces monthly and annual indexes for the Atlanta Journal, Atlanta Constitution, Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times, and the Minneapolis Star and Tribune. In addition, many newspapers are indexed locally; ask a public librarian about indexes to your local newspaper.

Some search terms include:
- Foreign policy
- Military assistance
- Military policy
- National security
- North American Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Specific countries by name

NEXIS

NEXIS is an online search and retrieval service with numerous subfiles of information. The NEXIS database includes the full text of many newspapers, including Legal Times, National Law Journal, the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Christian Science Monitor; full text of major wire services, including AP, UPI, and Reuters; full text of many newsletters and magazines; full text of some government publications; abstracts to many current affairs magazines and major U.S. newspapers; and other information. Ask a reference librarian if NEXIS is available in your area. There may be a fee for NEXIS searches.

VUTEXT

VUTEXT is a full text online system of regional newspapers that is word-, number-, and phrase-searchable provided by Knight-Ridder, Inc. It provides access to more than 35 regional newspapers in a full text format and in depth coverage of regional business issues. Ask a reference librarian if VUTEXT is available in your area. There may be a fee for searches.

NEWSSEARCH

Newssearch is the daily update of Magazine Index, National Newspaper Index, and Legal Resource Index. It provides front-page to back-page indexing of the Christian Science Monitor, Wall Street Journal, and New York Times, as well as popular magazines, law journals, and legal newspapers. There may be a fee for searches.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

FEDERAL DEPOSITORY LIBRARY PROGRAM

Under this program, Government publications are made available to designated depository libraries. In order to provide the general public with greater access to Government publications, these libraries are located in each State and congressional district. There are currently over 1,350 depository libraries. Of this number 50 have been designated as regional depositories. The regional libraries assume the responsibility of retaining depository material permanently and of providing inter-library loan and reference service in their regions. Copies of documents no longer available for sale can usually be found in regional Federal depository library collections. Each issue of the Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications (see below) prints a current directory of these regional libraries. A directory of all depository libraries is available from: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

GOVERNMENT REPORTS ANNOUNCEMENTS AND INDEX

Government research reports are indexed in the Government Reports Announcements and Index, which is issued twice monthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS). A keyword index lists significant words from titles. The NTIS index is available online commercially.

MONTHLY CATALOG OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The Monthly Catalog lists documents issued by all branches of the Federal Government. The catalog has monthly, semiannual, and annual indexes arranged by author, title, subject, keywords, and series/report title. The Monthly Catalog is often the access point for materials in Government depository libraries; it may also be used to obtain information for ordering materials for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents at the U.S. Government Printing Office. The Monthly Catalog is commercially available online. Library of Congress subject headings are the catalog's subject authority. Therefore, see SEARCH TERMS under BOOKS in this guide.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

The Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week. The Weekly Compilation has weekly, quarterly, and annual indexes. It is also available online commercially.

INDEX TO U.S. GOVERNMENT PERIODICALS

The Index covers periodical articles published by over 100 Federal agencies, using a thesaurus created exclusively for itself. Search terms include:

Atlantic Alliance
Economic assistance, United States
Foreign relations, United States
Latin America
Military assistance, United States
North American Council
North American Treaty Organization (NATO)
Specific countries

LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION

Congressional activities on U.S.-NATO policy may be monitored by searching the following printed publications:

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT

Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report provides current information on congressional activities, the progress of major bills, and background information on major policy issues. Important recent articles are indexed on the back cover of each issue. Consult this index under the heading "Foreign Policy". A quarterly and annual index are also issued; search under such headings as foreign affairs, foreign trade, foreign aid, arms sales, defense, and specific names of countries and regions. Cross references are also provided.

Congressional Quarterly also publishes an annual volume which cumulates material from the weeklies. There is an index at the back of each volume.

NATIONAL JOURNAL

National Journal provides information on important executive branch and congressional actions. In addition to the semi-annual indexes, there is a page entitled "Recent Articles" toward the end of most issues. Look under "Foreign policy," "Defense," or "Trade." The semiannual index allows you to search under more specific topics.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Congressional Record provides an edited transcript of the activities on the floor of the House and the Senate. It is published each day Congress is in session. Subject and name indexes are published biweekly and cumulated annually. Search under such topics as:

Economic assistance
Foreign trade
Foreign relations--U.S.
Military assistance
National defense
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Specific country and regional areas
Technical assistance

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

MAJOR LEGISLATION OF THE CONGRESS

The MLC provides summaries of selected major legislation arranged by subject. It includes background on the issues and information on the content and status of major bills affecting that issue. The publication may be examined at a Government depository library or purchased from the Government Printing Office. Search under the headings "Foreign policy and assistance programs," "Trade and international finance," or "National defense and security."

DIGEST OF PUBLIC GENERAL BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

The Digest summarizes the essential features of public bills and resolutions and changes made in them during the legislative process. The Digest is published during each session of Congress in two cumulative issues and a final issue at the conclusion of the session. The Digest has sponsor/cosponsor, identical bills, short title, and subject indexes. Search under "Foreign relations and policy," "Foreign trade and investments," or "National security and intelligence operations." Cross references are provided.

CIS INDEX

The CIS Index, produced by the Congressional Information Service, abstracts all congressional publications except the Congressional Record. The Index is published monthly and cumulated quarterly and annually. Each issue of the Index is divided into index and abstract portions. Search in the index section under such headings as:

Foreign investments
Foreign assistance
Foreign relations
Military strategy
Military assistance
National defense
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Specific countries and regions

Also use the cross-references provided. Refer to the abstract section for full bibliographic information.

CIS also provides legislative histories of significant public laws enacted. Search under NATO.

STATISTICAL SOURCES

AMERICAN STATISTICS INDEX (AIS)

The American Statistics Index indexes and describes the statistical publications of the U.S. Government, including periodicals, annuals, biennials, semi-annuals, and special publications. The Index provides access to statistical materials by subject, organization, name, issuing source, and title. The Index is published monthly and cumulated quarterly and annually. ASI is available online commercially.

STATISTICAL REFERENCE INDEX

The Statistical Reference Index provides a guide and index to selected statistical reference material from non-Federal sources on a wide spectrum of subject matter. It includes the publications of trade, professional, and other non-profit assocations and institutions, business organizations, commercial publishers, university and independent research centers, and State government agencies. The Index provides access by subject, organization, name, issuing source, and title. The Index is published monthly and cumulated annually.

CONGRESSIONAL INDEX

The Congressional Index, published by the Commerce Clearing House, is a weekly looseleaf service providing content and status information for bills and resolutions pending in Congress. The progress of bills and resolutions is reported from the introduction of the legislation to the final disposition. Search under "Foreign affairs and assistance," "Foreign trade," and "Armed forces and national defense."

PART II. U.S.-NATO POLICY

REFERENCE BOOKS

GENERAL

Allison, Graham T. Szanton, Peter.
Remaking foreign policy: the organizational connection. New York, Basic Books, 1976. 238 p.

American foreign policy since detente. New York, Harper & Row, c1984. 228 p.

Arms transfers and American foreign policy. Edited by Andrew J. Pierre. New York, New York University Press, 1979. 331 p.

Barilleaux, Ryan J.
The President and foreign affairs: evaluation, performance, and power. New York, Praeger, 1985. 215 p.

Bemis, Samuel Flagg.
A diplomatic history of the United States. 5th ed. New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965. 1062 p.

Congress and foreign policy--1984. Prepared by the Congressional Research Service, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division. Washington, G.P.O., 1985. 156 p.
At head of title: [House] Committee on Foreign Affairs.
This committee print, prepared for the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, is the eleventh and most recent in a series of annual reports reviewing the role of Congress in foreign policy during the previous year. Since 1979, the reports have included analyses of the congressional role regarding pertinent topics for the year considered. In this report, a review of the role of Congress regarding foreign policy during 1984 is

followed by analyses of Congress and the withdrawal of the Marines from Lebanon; Congress and foreign aid; the 98th Congress and export control legislation; Congress, burdensharing, and U.S. troops in Europe; and Congress and Central America.

Congress, the Presidency and American foreign policy. Edited by John Spanier and Joseph Nogee. New York, Pergamon Press [1981] 211 p. (Pergamon policy studies on international politics)

Europa yearbook: a world survey. London, Europa Publications.
This yearbook was first published in 1926. Also published by Europa are regional volumes, including Latin America.

Facts on file: weekly world news digest with cumulative index. New York, Facts on File.

George, Alexander L. Smoke, Richard.
Deterrence in American Foreign policy: theory and practice. New York, Columbia University Press, 1974. 666 p.

Gordon, Colin.
The Atlantic Alliance: a bibliography. London, Frances Pinter Ltd., N.Y., Nichols Publishing Co., 1978. 216 p.
Materials are arranged under four chronological periods; 1) from the late forties to the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955: 2) from 1955 to the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1969; 3) from 1962 to the advent of the era of negotiation in 1970; and 4) from 1970 to the review of the Helsinki accords on European Security and co-operation in 1977."

Greenwood, John.
American defense policy since 1945; a preliminary bibliography, compiled by John Greenwood. Edited by Geoffrey Kemp, Clark Murdock and Frank L. Simonie. Lawrence, Published for the National Security Education Program, by the University Press of Kansas, 1973. 317 p. (Kansas State University Library bibliography series, no. 11)

Hollman, Stanley.
Gulliver's troubles, or the setting of American foreign policy. New York, Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by McGraw-Hill, 1968. 556 p.

International encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York, Macmillan Co. and the Free Press.

Irish, Marian Doris. Frank, Elke.
U.S. foreign policy: context, conduct, content. New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich [1975] 562 p.

Kennan, George F.
American diplomacy. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, c1984. 179 p.
"Drawing on his diplomatic experience and expertise, George F. Kennan offers an informed, plain-spoken appraisal of United States foreign policy. His evaluations of diplomatic history and international relations cut to the heart of policy issues much debated today.

Legislation on foreign relations through 1986. Prepared by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress and printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the House of Representatives and Senate respectively. Washington, G.P.O., 1986, 1987. 3 v.
At head of title: Joint committee print.
Volumes I and II contain legislation, executive orders, and related material and are republished with amendments and additions at the end of each annual session of Congress. Volume III which contains treaties and related material will not be revised every year, but only as necessary.

Lowell, John P.
The challenge of American foreign policy: purpose and adaptation. New York, Macmillan, c1985. 333 p.

Mikesell, Raymond Frech.
The economics of foreign aid. London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968. 300 p.

The Military balance. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies.
"An annual, quantitative assessment of the military power and defense expenditure of countries throughout the world."

Modern diplomacy: the art and the artisans. Edited by Elmer Plischke. Washington, American Enterprise Institute, c1979. 456 p. (Studies in foreign policy, AEI studies 427).
"A collection of essays and short commentaries on contemporary diplomatic practice and practitioners, written by more than thirty statesmen, diplomats, and academic analysts. Its scope is broad-scale and universal, although some essays relate specifically to U.S. experience, and most of the contributions are by Americans. The spectrum of subjects treated ranges from the dimensions and functions of diplomacy and the roles, qualities, and activities of diplomatists, to appositional views on such matters as secrecy vs. openness, classical vs. contemporary diplomacy (including summitry), and careerists vs. amateurs. The volume interlaces commentary and analysis on past developments, on current practices and problems, and on future prospects of what Dean Acheson called the "corpus diplomaticum."

Montgomery, John Dickey.
Foreign aid in international politics. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [1967] 118 p. (America's role in world affairs series)

Morss, Elliott S.
U.S. foreign aid: an assessment of new and traditional development strategies. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, c1982. 117 p.

Nathan, James A. Oliver, James K.
United States foreign policy and world order. 2d ed. Boston, Little, Brown [1981] 467 p.

NATO basic documents. Brussels, NATO Information Service, 1981. 104 p.

NATO facts and figures. Brussels, NATO Information Service, 1984. 384 p.

NATO Handbook. Brussels, NATO Information Service, 1985. 105 p.
Contents.--The North Atlantic Treaty.--How the Alliance works.--The civil and military structure of the alliance.--Chronology.

O'Leary, Michael Kent.
The politics of American foreign aid. New York, Atherton Press, 1967. 172 p.

World armaments and disarmament: SIPRI yearbook. Published annually by SIPRI, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. London; Philadelphia, Taylor & Francis.
Presents information on "world armaments and the efforts made to limit or reduce them."

Plischke, Elmer.
U.S. foreign relations: a guide to information sources. Detroit, Mich., Gale Research Co., c1980. 715 p. (American Government and history information guide series, v. 6)

Political handbook of the world. Published for the Center for Social Analysis of the State University of New York at Binghamton and the Council on Foreign Relations by McGraw-Hill Book Co.
"For each country the Handbook includes facts on: political background and issues; social and economic data; legislatures; foreign relations; names and heads of state; cabinet members; official languages; news media; imports, exports; religions; geography;" and other items of interest.

Rappaport, Armin.
A history of American diplomacy. New York, Macmillan, 1975. 496 p.

Sivard, Ruth Leger.
World military and social expenditures, 1986. 11th ed. Washington, World Priorities, 1986. 52 p.
"The purpose of this report is to provide an annual accounting of the use of world resources for social and for military purposes, and an objective basis for assessing relative priorities. In bringing together military costs and social needs for direct comparison, the report bridges a gap in the information otherwise available to the public." Includes graphs, charts, and tables.

Spanier, John.
Games nations play. 6th ed. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, c1987. 683 p.
Contents.--Part 1: The study and analysis of international politics.--Part 2: The state system.--Part 3: How to play--politically, militarily, economically.--Part 4: The second and third levels.--Part 5: From state system to interdependence.

The Statesman's yearbook, edited by John Paxton. New York, St. Martin's Press.
Annual publication includes defense, commerce and governmental information on a country-by-country basis. Also includes information on international agencies.

Tendler, Judith.
Inside foreign aid. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press [1975] 140 p.

Thompson, Kenneth W.
Foreign assistance: a view from the private sector. Notre Dame [Ind.] Univeristy of Notre Dame Press [1972] 160 p.

Thorpe, Willard Long.
The reality of foreign aid. New York, Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Praeger Publishers [1971] 370 p.

U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook.
"The World Factbook is produced annually by the Directorate of Intelligence of the Central Intelligence Agency." It provides a country-by-country listing of population, military manpower estimates, and major political developments in each nation. Includes maps.

U.S. Department of State.
Atlas of foreign relations. 2nd rev. ed. Washington, for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1985. 98 p.
"Provides basic information about U.S. foreign relations."

U.S. foreign policy. New York, H. W. Wilson, 1983. 214 p. (Reference shelf, v. 55, no. 3)
Contains reprints of articles and addresses on current issues of U.S. foreign policy.

Young, Harry F.
Atlas of NATO. Washington, U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, for sale by the Supt. of Docs., G.P.O., 1985. 20 p.

Wellborn, Fred Wilmot.
Diplomatic history of the United States. Totowa, N.J., Littlefield, Adams, 1970. 458 p. (Littlefield quality paperbacks, no. 17)

INDEXES

SOCIAL SCIENCES INDEX

Social Sciences Index, published quarterly and cumulated annually, gives author and title access to articles from political science journals. Some of the public policy journals include articles on U.S. policy regarding NATO. Use Library of Congress subject headings; also follow the cross-references.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CITATION INDEX

Social Science Citation Index, which covers hundreds of journals, is issued quarterly and annually. It differs from other indexes in that there are no standard subject headings; but you may search by topic by looking up key words from an article's title in the Permuterm Subject Index and referring to the Source Index for the full reference.

Business Periodicals index is a subject index of over 300 business periodicals. It is published monthly except August, with a bound cumulation each year. It covers a wide range of business publications, such as American Demographics, Economist, Euromoney and Barrons. Search using Library of Congress subject headings and the index's cross-references.

ABC POL SCI (A Bibliography of Contents: Political Science & Government)

This is a guide to current periodical literature in the field of political science and government as well as in the related disciplines of sociology, law, and history. Started in 1969 and published five times a year, it reproduces edited tables of contents of about 300 international journals.

Military and strategic policies
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Organization of American States
Specific names of countries
United States--Foreign policy--(subdivided by specific countries)

AIR UNIVERSITY LIBRARY INDEX TO MILITARY PERIODICALS

The Air University Library Index to Military Periodicals is a subject index to significant articles, news items, and editorials appearing in 73 English language military and aeronautical periodicals not indexed in readily available commercial indexing services. The index is issued quarterly with annual cumulations.

Allied Atlantic Command
Defense--NATO
Foreign relations
Military aid to foreign countries
Military policy--United States
Military missions
National policy--United States
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Security, international
United States--Foreign relations

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS

This is a bimonthly collection of abstracts of articles in the field of political science published in journals and yearbooks worldwide. The major journals are covered in full, less important ones, selectively.

Foreign policy
International relations
International security
Military and politics
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
United States--(subdivided by Foreign policy, National interest, Strategy, names of countries)

PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND INFORMATION SERVICE BULLETIN and MAGAZINE INDEX

PAIS and Magazine Index are available online as part of the commercial data base systems. Brief descriptions of the contents of both of these files appear in the section on printed indexes.

References to selected commercial databases and vendors are also identified. Such sources as DIALOG, NEXIS, and Wilsonline are among those which are commerically available. There may be a fee chared for searches.

SELECTED PERIODICALS

NATO and national defense coverage.

Air University Review
Atlantic Community Quarterly
Defense
Defense News
Department of State Bulletin
International Security
Journal of Defense and Diplomacy
Journal of International Affairs
Journal of Peace Research
Military Affairs
Military Intelligence
Military Review
National Defense
NATO Review
NATO's Sixteen Nations
Naval War College Review
OECD Observer
Peace and Change
RUSI--Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies
Survival
U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WORLD ISSUES COVERAGE (these include NATO issues on a regular basis in a foreign relations context)

Annals
Aussenpolitik
Commentary
Comparative Politics
Comparative Political Studies
Fletcher Forum
Foreign Affairs
Foreign Policy
Global Affairs
Journal of Strategic Studies
Orbis
SAIS Review
Strategic Review
World Policy Journal
World Today
World Politics
West European politics

GENERAL PUBLIC POLICY COVERAGE (these includes Latin America as issues arise)

Brookings Review
Conflict Quarterly
Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report (NATO as issues come before the Congress)
Current History (Occasional issue devoted to Western Europe)
Economist
Foreign Service Journal
Journal of International Affairs
Manchester Guardian
Military Affairs
National Journal
National Interest
New Stateman
Policy Review
Policy Studies Journal
Political Quarterly
Potomac Review
Review of Politics
Washington Quarterly
Wilson Quarterly

Weekly news sources include Time, Newsweek, and US News & World Report; daily newspapers include Washington Post, Washington Times, Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, and Los Angeles Times; monthly/quarterly general sources include Harpers, Atlantic Monthly, Reader's Digest, and law and international law journals.

Additional journal titles may be located by consulting such sources as Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory, The IMS Ayer Directory of Publications, Sources of Serials, Gale Directory of Publications, the Standard Periodical Directory, and the Oxbridge Directory of Newsletters.

GUIDES TO ORGANIZATIONS

There are hundreds of organizations with an interest in foreign relations, some of them may be able to provide information by correspondence. The list of books which follows is a selection of some of the many available guides to organizations.

American Peace Directory. Cambridge, Mass., Ballinger Publishing Co.
Describes "national peace groups, educators' groups, educational programs at colleges and universities, local peace groups and local chapters of national peace groups." The organizations included in this Directory have widely differing views of the causes of war and paths to peace."

Encyclopedia of associations. Detroit, Michigan, Gale Research Company. 4 v.
"The Encyclopedia of Associations consists of the following volumes: Volume 1, National Organizations of the United States, detailed descriptions of national trade, professional, and other organizations; Volume 2, Geographic and Executive Indexes, covering material in Volume 1; Volume 3, New Associations and Projects, periodic reports listing additional associations not included in Volume 1. Volume 4, International Organizations, detailed descriptions of international trade, professional, and other organizations; and, International Organizations Supplement, periodic reports listing additional associations not listed in Volume 4.

Encyclopedia of Governmental Advisory Organizations. Detroit, Mich., Gale Research Co. Use the name and keyword index in Volume 1, Part 3.
"A reference guide to approximately 5,000 permanent, continuing, and ad hoc U.S. presidential advisory committees, congressional advisory committees, and other agencies.

Research Centers Directory. Edited by Robert C. Thomas and James A. Rullner. Detroit, Mich., Gale Research Co.
A guide to university-related and other nonprofit research organizations established on a permanent basis and carrying on continuing research programs in agriculture, business, conservation, education, engineering and technology, government, law, life sciences, mathematics, area studies, physical and earth sciences, social sciences, and humanities.

U.S. Dept. of State. Bureau of International Organization Affairs. United States representation in selected international organizations and major meetings thereof. [Washington] Bureau of International Organization Affairs, 1975. 56 p.

United States Government manual. Prepared by the U.S. Office of the Federal Register. Washington, G.P.O.
Use the subject/agency index to identify Federal agencies with responsibilities in the implementation of foreign policy.

Washington information directory. Washington, Congressional Quarterly.
This directory, which is updated yearly, lists both governmental and non-governmental organizations with headquarters or branch offices in Washington, D.C.

Yearbook of International Organizations. Edited by Union of International Oragnizations. Munchen, K.G. Saur.
Volume 1: Descriptions and index; Volume 2: Countries; Volume 3: Subject guide.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The following is a list of some of the Federal agencies which may be able to provide materials on the debate topic. Some sources listed in the previous section will provide information about agencies listed here and other agencies.

Bureau of Public Affairs
Correspondence Management Division, Room 5819A
U.S. Department of State
Washington, DC 20520
(202) 647-6575
Provides information on topics related to U.S. foreign policy. Distributes "Background notes" on specific countries; and publications from the "Current Policy", "Special Report", and "Gist" series and also has a speakers bureau which is designed to deal with special requests.

Directorate for Public Correspondence
Room 2E777
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public affairs)
U.S. Department of Defense
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301
(202) 697-5737

Liaison for Supreme Head Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE)
1A 711 The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301
(202) 697-7946

Office of NATO Policy
OSD (ISP)
U.S. Dept. of Defense
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301
(202) 697-1386

INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

A variety of international organizations and entities may be able to provide information to debaters. International organizations are listed in the sources mentioned earlier in this section of the guide. Some of the many international organizations include:

NATO
NATO Information Service
1110 Brussels
Belgium
The Atlantic Council of the United States responds to U.S. inquiries for the NATO Information Service, 1616 H. St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202, 347-9353)

Office of Public Inquiry
United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20402

SUBJECT BIBLIOGRAPHY (SB)

SB-176
August 17, 1987

NOTICE

Government document's prices are subject to change without prior notice. Therefore, prices in effect when your order is filled may differ from prices on this list.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE 1987-88 COLLEGE DEBATE TOPIC

Resolved: That the United States should reduce significantly its Military commitments to NATO member States.

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Atlas of NATO. *Provides basic information about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with 19 displays illustrating NATO's membership and structure; military strength; members' role in world affairs; and relations with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.* 1985: 20 p.; ill.
S 1.33/2:N 81 S/N 044-000-02039-4 $ 1.75

Defending the NATO Alliance: Global Implications. *Studies the disagreements within NATO that began with East-West confrontations outside continental Europe and considers how Third World nations have influenced the security and economy of the West. Calls for a coordinated foreign policy within the NATO alliance and suggests a means for developing such a strategy in order to strengthen NATO.* 1987: 192 p., map.
D 5.409:N 81/2 S/N 008-020-01085-5 4.50

Defense Planning for the 1990's and the Changing International Environment: Based on the Tenth National Security Affairs Conference, October 7-8, 1983. *Topics of discussion include: defense planning for the 1990's and the changing international environment; Vietnam and United States policy in Southeast Asia: What steps toward normalization; NATO in the 1990's; law-order violence in the international milieu; America's foreign policy options in East Asia: The coming decade; and the United States and South Asia: India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.* 1984: 389 p.; ill. D 5.402:P 69 S/N 008-020-01007-3 8.50

Foreign Relations of the United States:

1952-1954, Volume 5, Western European Security. 1983: 2 bks. (1910 p.) Clothbound.
S 1.1:952-54/v.5/pt.2 S/N 044-000-01948-5 $28.00

1955-1957, Volume 4, Western European Security and Integration. *Presents documents on United States policies toward NATO, EURATOM, the Common Market, and individual West European nations concerning security and integration issues from May 1955 through December 1957.* 1986: 683 p. Clothbound.
S 1.1:955-57/v.4 S/N 044-000-02119-6 30.00

Germany and NATO. 1987:
S/N 008-020-01115-1 6.50

International Essays 2. *Includes an essay entitled "The United States Commitment to Europe."* 1987: 289 p.; ill.
S/N 008-020-01109-6 8.50

Limiting Conventional Forces in Europe: An Alternative to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Negotiations. *Reviews the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations and the military balance in Central Europe. Soviet Bloc nations have greatly increased conventional weapons and forces, placing NATO nations in a position of relying upon nuclear weapons for defense purposes. The author believes that MBFR would place NATO nations at a disadvantage and the Conference on Disarmament in Europe would produce preferable results.* 1985: 99 p.; ill.
D 5.409:C 74 S/N 008-020-01050-2 2.00

Military Construction Appropriations for 1988, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations of the Committee on Appropriations, House, 100th Congress, 1st Session:

Part 2, Justification of the Budget Estimates: Navy, Defense Agencies, and NATO. 1987: 1290 p.
Y 4.Ap 6/1:M 59/6/988/pt.2
S/N 052-070-06249-5 30.00

Part 5. 1987: 752 p.; ill.
Y 4.Ap 6/1:M 59/6/988/pt.5
S/N 052-070-06315-7 20.00

MX Missile Basing. *Reviews the various ways in which the new MX intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) could be based, and assesses the technical issues, the advantages, and the disadvantages associated with each major option.* 1981: 343 p.; ill.
Y 3.T 22/2:2 M 69 S/N 052-003-00849-1 9.00

NATO's Future: Toward a New Transatlantic Bargain. *Provides an analysis of NATO from its beginnings to the present. This analysis focuses on two basic weaknesses: the failure of European NATO allies to form a European Defense Community, and the parallel American decision to rest NATO's defense on United States nuclear forces. The analysis concludes with some suggestions for direction of NATO's strategy, force posture, arms control policies, and East-West relations.* 1985: 264 p.; ill.
D 5.402:N 81 S/N 008-020-01012-0 $ 6.50

New Technology for NATO: Implementing Follow-on Forces Attack (FOFA). *Reviews what FOFA is and how it fits into NATO strategy. Primarily concerned with the outstanding technical issues, how our Allies view FOFA, how the Soviets might respond to it, and how the various technical developments might be brought together into "packages" of systems to support specific operational concepts.* 1987: 236 p.; ill.
Y 3.T 22/2:2 N 81/2 S/N 052-003-01063-1 10.00

Report to the Congress on the Strategic Defense Initiative, April 1987. *Covers activities of the past year and plans for ongoing and future efforts by the Department of Defense to achieve the goals of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Includes a list of acronyms and a glossary.* 1987: 270 p.; ill.
D 1.1/6:987 S/N 008-000-00480-3 13.00

Soviet Air Power and the Pursuit of New Military Options. *Contents of publication: Soviet air operations doctrine; Soviet air power elements; Soviet air operations and the preemption of NATO mobilization; Index of NATO code names for Soviet aircraft.* 1979: 71 p.; ill.
D 301.85:3 S/N 008-070-00429-1 4.50

Soviet Strategic Defense Programs. *Provides an examination of Soviet programs in defenses against ballistic missiles, air defense, and passive defense. Includes an annex of key Soviet offensive force developments.* 1985: 27 p.; ill.
D 1.2:St 8/2 S/N 008-000-00433-1 1.75

Strategic Defense in the 21st Century. *Fourteen speakers from the military, academic, scientific, and diplomatic communities discussed various aspects of the Strategic Defense Initiative program as it relates to national defense and international relations. Technical aspects of the SDI program were also discussed. A glossary of SDI terms, an annotated bibliography, and the ABM Treaty are also included.* 1986: 163 p.; ill.
S 1.114/3:St 8 S/N 044-000-02135-8 5.50

Strategic Nuclear Force Requirements and Issues. *Includes the following: Volume 1, Strategic Nuclear Balance and Force Structure Issues; Volume 2, Strategic Nuclear TRIAD; Volume 3, Modernization of the ICBM Leg; Volume 4, Modernization of the Air-Breathing Leg; and Volume 5, Other Contemporary Issues.* 1983: 195 p.; ill.
S/N 008-070-00509-3 $ 4.75

Technologies for NATO's Follow-On Forces Attack Concept: A Special Report of OTA's Assessment on Improving NATO's Defense Response. *Contains information from the classified version consisting of the executive summary and a chapter on delivery systems and munitions, with classified material removed. Provides an overview of American technological developments in relation to the Follow-on Forces Attack (FOFA) of NATO forces, and background information on the role of FOFA in NATO strategy. Information on how to obtain the classified version of this report is also included.* 1986: 46 p.; ill. Y 3.T 22/2:2 N 81 S/N 052-003-01045-3 2.75

Treaties and Other International Acts Series:

Defense: Logistic Support, Supplies and Services, Agreement Between the United States of America and NATO Maintenance and Supply Organization (NAMSO), Signed at Stuttgart-Vaihingen February 2, 1982; Entered Into Force February 2, 1982. 1985: 7 p. S 9.10:10342 S/N 044-000-93451-5 1.00

North Atlantic Treaty, Accession of Spain, Protocol Between the United States of America and Other Governments, Done at Brussels December 10, 1981; Entered Into Force May 29, 1982. *Text in English and French.* 1985: 9 p.
S 9.10:10564 S/N 844-001-00175-1 1.00

North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Status of Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, Agreement Between the United States of America and Other Governments, Amending the Protocol of Signature to the Agreement of August 3, 1959, as Amended, Signed at Bonn May 18, 1981; Entered Into Force August 8, 1982; Effective April 1, 1974. *Text in English, German and French.* 1985: 4 p.
S 9.10:10367 S/N 044-000-93447-9 1.00

Privileges and Immunities, Agreement Between the United States of America and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Signed at Brussels March 3, 1981; Entered Into Force March 3, 1981. *Text in English and French.* 1982: 5 p.
S 9.10:10110 S/N 044-000-93219-9 1.75

United States Military Installations in NATO's Southern Region, Report.
Examines the status of American Military access agreements with five NATO nations: Portugal; Spain; Italy; Greece; and Turkey. Major security problems in NATO's Southern region are also discussed.
1986: 427 p. Y 4.F 76/1:M 59/10 S/N 052-070-06191-0 $12.00

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